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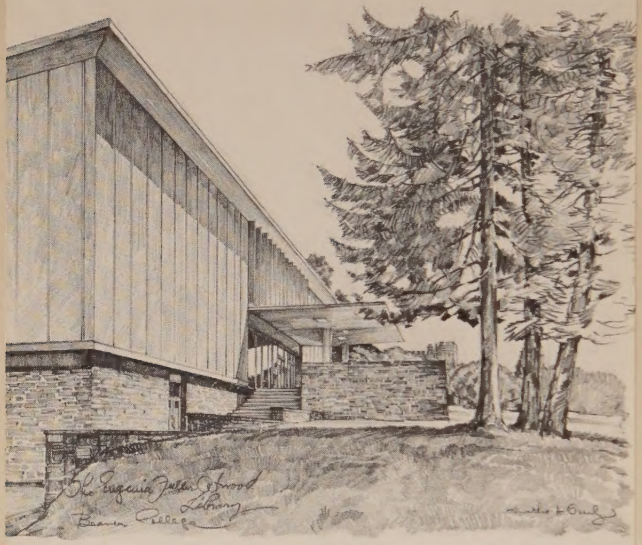

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VIRGIL AND THOSE OTHERS

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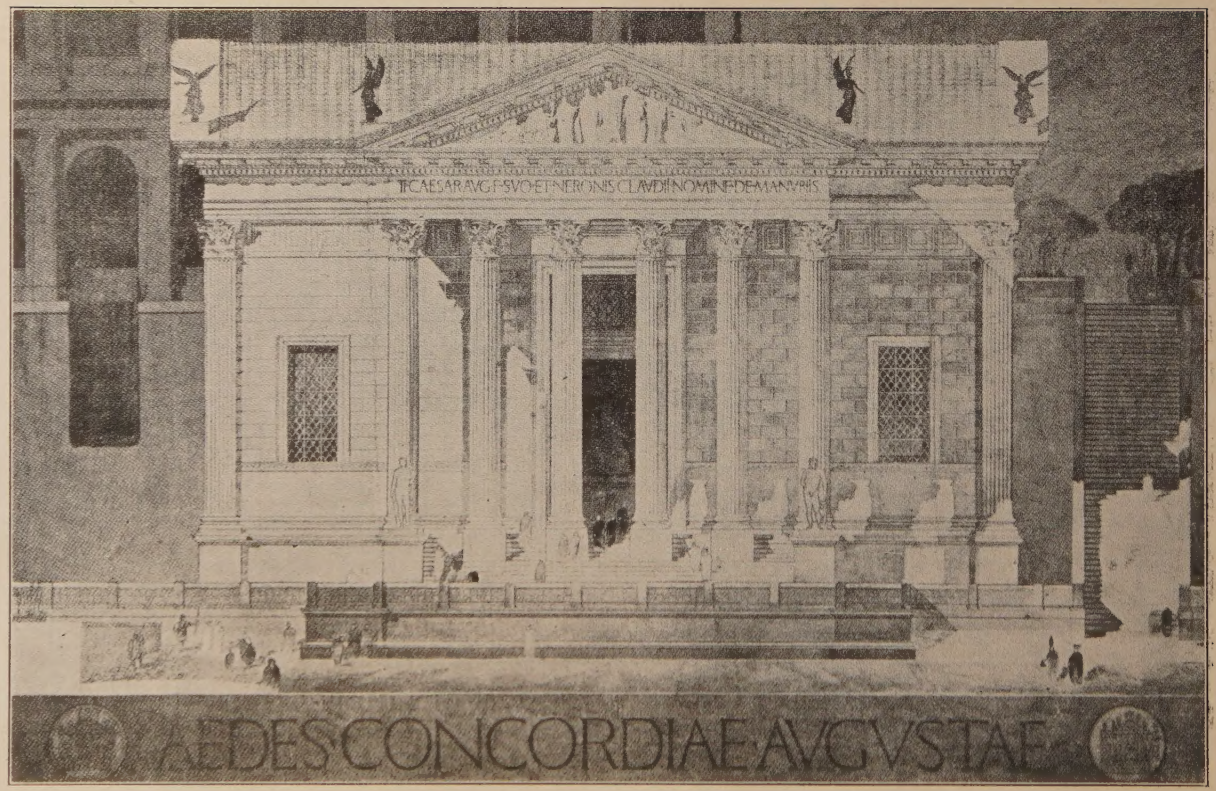
Homer F. Rebert



Homer F. Rebert, Archaeologist

Henri G. Marceau, Architect

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes) pacisque imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

VIRGIL

AND

THOSE OTHERS

By

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To
My Mother

PREFACE

This volume is devoted to the thesis that the Latin classics must be looked upon as literature, as a form of artistic expression, if the full educational and cultural values are to be realized from their pursuit. The literature of any land is obviously intended to be read, just as its music is intended to be heard. And yet, the present tendency in educational circles is to do almost everything with Latin except read it. Worthy matters, such as the study of derivatives, grammar, archaeology, history, and antiquities, are given the attention they deserve, but too frequently they come to be regarded as ultimate goals in themselves, and not as agencies that might be conducive to a better understanding and appreciation of the Latin classics as literature. Even the insistence on translation leaves much to be desired. Employed as a pedagogical necessity in the classroom, it is likely to degenerate into mere transverbalization. It is the sympathetic, intelligent reading of the Latin as Latin, with a fine sense of its literary and artistic qualities, that makes the ideal translation possible. And even then, unless the translator be a creative artist as great as the original author, the reconstruction is likely to be little more than a dim shadow of the original work. Who cares to look through a glass darkly, when it is possible to see face to face?

The celebration of the Virgilian Bimillennium finds us scarcely in readiness for it. While many have studied the Aeneid in school, very few ever read or reread it as poetry. It comes, in fact, as a surprise to the student in college to learn that Latin has in store for the lover of literature the same sort of pleasure and profit that is commonly found in Browning, Shelley, or Keats. But the

student will not have this pleasant surprise, if the instructor is not a lover of literature. And he will not comprehend the tribute of Tennyson if he never has heard that "ocean roll of rhythm" sounded by the

> Wielder of the stateliest measure
> Ever molded by the lips of man.

If we allow the verses of Virgil to remain unread, we shall be excluding the poet from his own centenary. If we tune not our hearts to the music of his measures, Virgilian cruises and all the loud blaring of trumpets in ostentatious display (whether national or international) will be paying a tribute that is empty and vain.

The first two chapters of this book plead for poetic values in Virgil. The succeeding chapters apply the same theme to "Catullus and Those Others". Several of these essays have previously appeared in classical periodicals. For the privilege of reprinting them here, I am indebted to the courtesy of *Classical Bulletin*, *Classical Journal*, *Classical Weekly*, and *Transactions of the American Philological Association*.

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I.

THE FELICITY OF INFELIX IN VIRGIL'S AENEID

At the very outset of the *Aeneid*, Virgil makes it clear, or seems to make it clear, that he is to sing of perilous deeds by field and flood. The theme he announces is the growth of Rome, her rise to power and glory. And in a sense this program as promised is carried out. A second Odysseus sails the seas. Another Ilion has to be subdued. Above all, it is Rome, her "imperium sine fine," the

> Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam

that receive ever recurring attention. Yet, though all this is true and more, though his

> ocean-roll of rhythm
> sound forever of Imperial Rome,

careful, sympathetic readers of the *Aeneid* soon discover considerably more than the introductory statements could possibly anticipate. They discover, what many a classical scholar too frequently forgets, that Virgil, whatever else he may offer in the way of narrative, history, or patriotic propaganda, is in reality a poet in his own right, a poet with the peculiar message of a poet.

The inability of Virgil to disclose at once the burden of his song is not surprising. Poets have rarely, if ever, been able to tell what their poetry is about, except through the medium of their poetry itself. Their work is generally as undefinable for them as it is for anyone else. As Edwin Arlington Robinson says in a quoted remark, "Poetry is a language that tells us, through a more or less emotional reaction, something that cannot be said. All real poetry, great or small, does this." Virgil, certainly, pours forth

his soul with passionate intensity, yet the fullness of what is meant, as opposed to what is said, lies ofttimes beneath the surface unnoticed by the superficial observer.

Good poetry, like much good music, demands considerable effort of him who would understand and appreciate. This, though not generally accepted, is almost invariably true. To quote the English critic, Mr. I. A. Richards, "That it may take even a very serious and gifted reader years to master a good poet need surprise no one. Even with the help of all the commentators not a little of Shakespeare at his best still requires seven readings. It must be so, if the poet is not merely exploiting our ready-made feelings, but is weaving them into new patterns that have never existed before."

The opening lines of the *Aeneid* might well be likened to the exposition of a Bach fugue, in which the theme, the "subject," is announced at the outset and all that follows is based on that initial pronouncement. But the emotions that have called the composition into being, the emotions to which the composer has given artistic expression, are dependent upon quite another matter, *i.e.*, the way the basic melody is treated all the while that the composer complies with the theoretical, formal requirements of his "subject." In St. Anne's Fugue, for example, Bach uses the first line of the hymn, "Oh God, our help in ages past," as the basis for the three divisions of his composition, the three parts which the celebrated Ch. M. Widor looks upon as depicting the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. And whether or not this interpretation be accepted, there can be no doubting the fact that three distinct moods are effectively portrayed, although essentially the same subject forms the foundation for each one of the three. Just so, when Virgil announces his theme, he makes it known

that he is treating a subject which Naevius, Ennius, Livy, Ovid, and other writers of *Aeneids* essayed with markedly different results. Hence it is the manner rather than the matter of the tale that is important.

Just what the motivation is in the case of Virgil seems difficult to determine. Scholars differ widely on this point,—a fact, however, which will not appear strange to him who holds that poetry reveals what, in any case, cannot be said. The chief difference in the attitude one frequently finds toward music and the attitude toward poetry is perhaps that inability to understand Bach or Brahms is frankly admitted, whereas any schoolboy or schoolboy's teacher feels capable of comprehending, usually through the medium of a prose rendering, the full meaning of Virgil's message. But, as we indicated above, this ability to appreciate requires considerable toil and trouble. And it is only natural perhaps to find that the teacher of Greek or Latin who sees in poetry nothing beyond definite statements of fact, who thinks that poetry, to be good, must be didactic rather than passionate, usually sees little of value in music or any other of the arts. In a word, he does not understand their language.

It is this language of poetical expression with which we are at present concerned. And we shall confine our attention chiefly to a single expression, a single word, which Virgil seems to use with unusual felicity and which represents recollected in tranquillity an emotion deeply felt by the poet, a matter that unquestionably lay close to his heart. This very word, *infelix*, was perhaps one of those that Tennyson had in mind when he wrote:

> All the charm of all the Muses
> often flowering in a lonely word.

An epithet used only sixty-seven times in Virgil's works

(including the *Ciris* and *Lydia*), *infelix*, derives its importance from the fact that it becomes a gesture of artistic or poetical significance. Often given the meaning *unhappy* in vocabularies and translations, it is, of course, quite distinct from *miser*. As I noted in a previous paper,[1] *infelix* points to irrevocable doom, the unalterable decree of the Fates, and on the Mantuan's lips is no less than a passionate cry of sympathy. Its force is felt, even though it can scarcely ever be translated adequately. The mere presence of this word in any passage seems to indicate just where the poet's own real sympathies lie.

The *Aeneid*, suggested by Augustus and begun at his bidding, naturally evinces a patriotic purpose. And no one would deny that, in the glorification of Rome and Augustus, Virgil rises to the heights of poetic inspiration. Nevertheless, his spontaneous outburst of sympathy for the woes of humankind, the human interest with which he follows the fortunes of all his characters and makes us see in them a mirror of our own,—these tendencies seem to reveal to us more genuinely the inner spirit of the man. He sings eternally: "There is compassion for suffering and the sorrows of mortals touch the heart." This is the underlying motif that runs through the entire poem, no matter what subject is treated. His pity knows no bounds or restrictions. It is for all alike, Trojan or Rutulian, those of high degree or low. "Infelix" is intoned for all: Dido and Creusa; Priam, Priam's seed, and Trojan people; Ulysses and Achaemenides; Dares and Sergestus; Nisus and Euryalus; Theseus and Brutus; Cydon, Halaesus, and Liger, fighting for Turnus; Acron, Antores, and Acoetes supporting Aeneas; Amata, Lavinia, and Latinus; Camilla and Ufens; Pallas and Evander; Lausus and Mezentius; Juno, Juturna,

[1] *C.J.* XXIII, 539-542.

and Turnus. *Pius Aeneas*, destined by decree of the Fates to be successful in his divine mission, can meet with only temporary reverses, but even so he elicits the poet's sympathy, as, for example, in the line (*Aen.* II, 772),

infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae,

in which *infelix*[2] applies not to Creusa, who is in no wise unhappy, but to Aeneas[3] doomed never to see his wife again in the flesh.

It is significant that Virgil applies *infelix* to Dido eight times, as opposed to four for Amata and her family, four for the Nisus-Euryalus episode, two for Ulysses, and one for each of thirty other characters. Its dramatic purpose in the tragic story of Dido can be seen when first it appears in connection with her name. Immediately following *infelix* is the explanatory phrase *pesti devota futurae*. Dido has previously been mentioned twelve times and the traditional story of the Tyrian queen almost completely unfolded. Now for the first time *infelix* characterizes Dido, thus revealing the artistic purpose of the poet. In the midst of joyous feasting of Trojan and Tyrian is sounded the discordant strain (I, 712),

praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae,

as a prelude to the mechanical incident which implants love for Aeneas in the breast of Dido, the love that was destined to be her undoing. And again (I, 749), during the symposium just before Aeneas begins his tale of "Troy's last agony," the telling of which in books II and III transformed "deep draughts of love" into "sharp, slow-gathering pangs" of passionate love, *infelix Dido* sounds the note of pitiful doom, resembling very much in dramatic effect

[2]N. on II, 772 in Knapp's *Virgil:* there is nothing in this passage to prove Creusa unhappy. Hence the word gives the feeling with which Aeneas himself looked on the specter.

[3]*Ib.* 777-779.

the warning cry of the chorus in Greek tragedy. But it must not be overlooked that *infelix Dido* owes its felicity in large measure to the mere sound of the words. The slow, impressive tread of spondees, the long quantity of the vowels, the repeated i- and d-sounds,—all make for effectiveness and accord well with the dramatic mood implied by the expression. The movement alone contrasts strikingly with the swift-moving dactyls and the anaphora in the following line, both of which depict the excited manner and utterance of Dido.

Near the beginning of the fourth book (68), the next stage in the dramatic development of the story is signalized by another appeal to the reader's sympathy in the words *infelix Dido*. Wavering between loyalty to Sychaeus and her increasing passion for Aeneas, Dido appeals to the Gods in sacrifice. But either misinterpreting or disregarding the meaning of the entrails she submits to the overpowering force of her blind passion, committed to a course that can only lead to tragic end. Of this the poet aptly reminds us in his words of sympathetic tenderness, *infelix Dido*. And his sympathy is all the more noteworthy, since Dido, by breaking the solemn oath she has just sworn, in a sense deserves her doom.

After love's consummation, when Aeneas decides to depart from Carthage and remains unmoved by all entreaties, Dido prays for death (IV, 450f.):

> Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido
> mortem orat.

Infelix would be expected at such a turn of events. *Fatis exterrita*, inserted between *infelix* and *Dido*, dramatically intensifies the force of the phrase. Dreams and portents confirm poor Dido in her resolve to die. A plan is devised. All preparations are made. But with the approach of

night her resolve is weakened. Night's gracious calm and care-dispelling slumber find no place in her tortured frame (529-532):

> At non infelix animi Phoenissa, neque umquam
> solvitur in somnos, oculisve aut pectore noctem
> accipit; ingeminant curae, rursusque resurgens
> saevit amor, magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.

The use of *infelix* here pathetically marks the last vain effort to resist inevitable doom. But there is no other solution. Every alternative that rises in Dido's distracted mind leads but to the impassioned cry (547):

> Quin morere, ut merita es ferroque averte dolorem.

The sight of Trojan fleet disappearing with even sails furnishes the final motivating incident that brings the story to its tragic close. Every vestige of hope is gone. And remorse, feeding the flames of her helpless rage, makes Dido exclaim (596):

> Infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?

Nothing remains, except to curse Aeneas and die. The bitter realization of this is implied in the words *infelix Dido*, which are thus appropriately placed before her scornful taunts and imprecations (597-629).

As if in answer to her dying prayer, Aeneas well out to sea looks back upon the city walls, the *moenia* (v, 3-4),

> quae iam infelicis Elissae
> conlucent flammis.

And the words that follow (4-7) represent the Trojans pondering over the sight, very much in the manner of the chorus in Greek tragedy commenting upon some awful deed that occurs behind the scenes:

> quae tantum accenderit ignem
> causa latet; duri magno sed amore dolores
> polluto notumque, furens quid femina possit,
> triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.

In the words *infelicis Elissae* Virgil echoes with deepest sympathy Dido's own pathetic phrase, *di morientis Elissae*.

The meeting of Aeneas and Dido in the underworld, while it is introduced in conformity with epic tradition, seems to interest Virgil most in the opportunity it gives him of setting forth the beauty and tenderness of human affection. "The sorrows of mortals touch the heart." Nor is the Trojan leader, *pius Aeneas*, unmoved. When he sees Dido wandering in the wood *recens a volnere*, he addresses her *dulci amore*, crying out with deep feeling and hearfelt pity (VI, 456-458):

> Infelix Dido, verus mihi nuntius ergo
> venerat exstinctam ferroque extrema secutam?
> Funeris heu tibi causa fui?

And he adds (458-466) in justification of his conduct:

> Per sidera juro,
> per superos et, si qua fides tellure sub ima est,
> invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.
> Sed me jussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
> per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
> imperiis egere suis; nec credere quivi
> hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.
> Siste gradum teque aspectu ne subtrahe nostro.
> Quem fugis? Extremum fato, quod te alloquor, hoc est.

But whether or not the hero wins our approbation, his words serve the artistic purpose of bringing out in clearer relief than has yet been done the woeful doom of Dido. The passionate exclamation, *Infelix Dido*, coming from the mouth of Aeneas, when the full significance of her fate finally dawns upon him, furnishes the last touch that the artist can add.

The story of Amata, Latinus's queen, has much in it to remind one of Dido. Amata, like the Phoenician queen, is *infelix*, destined to meet with inevitable doom. *Infelicis*

Amatae recalls *infelicis Elissae* as the verse (VII, 376),

> tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monstris,

reminds one of that other (IV, 450),

> Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido.

The suffering of both, whether it is deserved or not, elicits the reader's sympathy. And at each step on the downward path of destiny, the poet interjects his pitiable cry, "Infelix!" When Latinus remains unmoved and Amata is filled with the serpent's venom, when she stirs up all the matrons to leave their homes in Bacchic frenzy, when she incorrectly assumes that Turnus is dead and deems herself the "guilty source," when the report of her death is spread through the city,—on each of these occasions significant *infelix* is heard. The tragedy of Amata reproduces on a smaller scale the main features of Dido's pathetic story.

Virgil's human interest is admirably shown also in the Nisus-Euryalus episode. In recounting the story of these two young hearts, he dwells with infinite tenderness on the noble impulses that motivate their action and bring them all their sorrow. At moments of great emotional intensity *infelix* sounds the knell of doom. The fateful disappearance of Euryalus, Nisus's sight of comrade slain, the startling effect of a mother's grief,—all elicit this word of woe.

Nisus and Euryalus, cut down in their youth, call to mind those other young men who suffered the selfsame fate. Pallas and Lausus are also *infelix* (X, 433-438).

> Hinc Pallas instat et urget,
> hinc contra Lausus, nec multum discrepat aetas,
> egregii forma, sed quis Fortuna negarat
> in patriam reditus. Ipsos concurrere passus
> haud tamen inter se magni regnator Olympi;
> mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste.

In themes such as these, Virgil's deepest interests seem to be centered. Every detail of the picture is painted with a sympathetic hand, and each new stroke impresses us with the "sadness of all brief and loveley things."

> The god of speech was neighbour to his lips,
> A lover's grace on words he loved to say.

Hinc Pallas instat, egregius forma. So vividly is the fatal encounter with Turnus portrayed that the reader, like Alcides (464-465),

> magnumque sub imo
> corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis.

Pallas "a black day has carried off and plunged in bitter death" (507-509):

> O dolor atque decus magnum rediture parenti!
> Haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert.

'Miserande puer,' mourns Aeneas (XI, 42-44):

> tene, inquit, miserande puer, cum laeta veniret,
> invidit fortuna mihi, ne regna videres
> nostra, neque ad sedes victor veherere paternas?

And to the father (53):

> Infelix, nati funus crudele videbis!

But *infelix*, as well, is Acoetes (85-87):

> Ducitur infelix aevo confectus Acoetes,
> pectora nunc foedans pugnis, nunc unguibus ora,
> sternitur et toto proiectus corpore terrae . . .

Evander, unwillingly surviving his son, cries out to the mother (158-159):

> tuque, o sanctissima coniunx,
> felix morte tua neque in hunc servata dolorem!

His own sad fate is seen in the words (175),

> Sed infelix Teucros quid demoror armis?

"Hinc contra Lausus,"

> quo pulchrior alter
> non fuit, excepto Laurentis corpore Turni (VII, 649-650).

"And here death's cruel gloom and thy most glorious deeds—if so be that ancient days may win credence for such prowess—I in sooth will not leave unsung, nay nor thyself, O youth, so worthy to be sung!" Lausus, coming to the aid of his father, is warned by Aeneas: 'Whither rushest thou to meet thy doom, with daring beyond thy strength? Thy love betrays thee into rashness." But Lausus heeds not, and "the Fates gather up his last threads; for Aeneas drives the sword sheer through the youth's body." The picture of beautiful youth sacrificed (Infelix puer!) to beautiful deed inspires the poet's "tremulous pity" (x, 821-832):

> At vero ut voltum morientis et ora,
> ora modis Anchisiades pallentia miris,
> ingemuit miserans graviter dextramque tetendit
> et mentem patriae strinxit pietatis imago.
> "Quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
> quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum?
> Arma, quibus laetatus, habe tua, teque parentum
> manibus et cineri, si qua est ea cura, remitto.
> Hoc tamen infelix miseram solabere mortem:
> Aeneae magni dextra cadis." Increpat ultro
> cunctantis socios et terra sublevat ipsum,
> sanguine turpantem comptos de morte capillos.

This sad beauty of youth cut down in its bloom has a peculiar fascination for Virgil, and has inspired some of his most felicitous verses. Of Pallas he sings (xi, 67-71):

> Hic iuvenem agresti sublimem stramine ponunt,
> qualem virgineo demessum pollice florem
> seu mollis violae seu languentis hyacinthi,
> cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit;
> non iam mater alit tellus virisque ministrat.

Of Euryalus (Infelix!) he sings (ix, 431-437):

> viribus ensis adactus
> transabiit costas et candida pectora rumpit.

Volvitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus
it cruor inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit:
purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
demisere caput, pluvia cum forte gravantur.

Of Marcellus (VI, 882-886):

Heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas!
Tu Marcellus eris! Manibus date lilia plenis!
Purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
munere

Of Camilla (VII, 803-805, 812-817):

Hos super advenit Volsca de gente Camilla,
agmen agens equitum et florentis aere catervas,
bellatrix.
Illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuventus
turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis, ut regius ostro
velet honos levis umeros, ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastoralem praefixa cuspide myrtum.

But when she goes forth to cruel war, Diana recalls how as a babe, fastened by her father's hand (XI, 562-563),

rapidum super amnem
infelix fugit in iaculo stridente Camilla.

"Infelix" mourns the goddess; for

nostris, nequiquam cingitur armis,
cara mihi ante alias (XI, 536-537).

With Arruns' spear driven deep, (XI, 818-819):

labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto
lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit.

And when from afar the Latonian ward espied "tristi mulcatam morte Camillam," she pours forth her words of sorrow (XI, 841-847):

Heu nimium, virgo, nimium crudele luisti
supplicium, Teucros conata lacessere bello!
nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam
profuit aut nostras umero gessisse sagittas.
Non tamen indecorem tua te regina reliquit
extrema iam in morte, neque hoc sine nomine letum
per gentis erit aut famam patieris inultae.

More beautiful than Lausus, more beautiful than all is Laurentian Turnus. The Rutulians embattled are stirred by his transcendent figure (VII, 473-474):

hunc decus egregium formae movet atque iuventae,
hunc atavi reges, hunc claris dextera factis.

It is he that the reader instinctively admires and genuinely pities. "Although Aeneas is Virgil's hero," says Mr. T. E. Page, "still his natural feeling seems to be with Turnus, and, almost in spite of his will he makes him the more interesting figure." Nor does a sister's grief find the Muse unmoved (XII, 869-873):

At, procul ut Dirae stridorem adgnovit et alas,
infelix crinis scindit Iuturna solutos,
unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis:
"Quid nunc te tua, Turne, potest germana iuvare?
aut quid iam durae superat mihi?"

And filial love in the appeal of Turnus sways the heart of the reader as it did that of Aeneas (932-936):

Miseri te si qua parentis
tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
Anchises genitor), Dauni miserere senectae
et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mavis,
redde meis.

In a word, the dominant motif at the end of book XII is the *exitium dirum* of Turnus. Neither Aeneas's victory nor his avenging blow can drown out the thought that Turnus is *infelix* (941). And the same sad note runs on in the accompaniment after the actors have left the stage.

But the poet of sorrow does not need for his theme the beauty of youth or exemplary character. Contemptuous of the gods, fearless of death, brutal, and hated of men, the old warrior Mezentius[4] becomes in Virgil's art a figure that inspires both admiration and pity. The father's surpassing love for his son strikes a sympathetic note in the human heart, and the pathetic picture of bereaved father eclipses that of the heroic son. Nowhere does *infelix* have so poignant a cry as in Mezentius's lament over self-sacrificing son (x, 846-850):

> Tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas,
> ut pro me hostili paterer succedere dextrae,
> quem genui? Tuane haec genitor per volnera servor,
> morte tua vivens? Heu, nunc misero mihi demum
> exitium infelix, nunc alte volnus adactum![5]

Likewise Ulysses, *hortator scelerum* (VI, 529), *fandi fictor* (IX, 603), ruthless,[6] no friend of the Trojans, wins from Virgil nevertheless a sympathetic *infelix* in two passages (III, 613-614),

> Sum patria ex Ithaca, comes infelicis Ulixi,
> nomine Achaemenides . . .

and (III, 690-691),

> Talia monstrabat relegens errata retrorsus
> litora Achaemenides, comes infelicis Ulixi.

Artistic considerations seem to bring it about that the expression *comes infelicis Ulixi* marks the beginning and the

[4]Page (*The Aeneid of Virgil*, VII-XII, p. xxiii) remarks that the "delineation of him (x, 856 f.) as he mounts his old war-horse for the last time is unequalled in Latin perhaps in any, literature."

[5]J. Henry, *Aeneida* (quoted in Page's *Virgil*): "Except David's passion of grief for Absalom (2 *Sam.* 18, 33): 'O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!', I know of no father's grief for the death of a son to be compared with Mezentius's for Lausus."

[6]II, 6-8: Quis talia fando
> Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi
> temperet a lacrimis?

end of the episode, while a third *infelix*, (649), characterizing the sorry existence of Achaemenides, appears in the middle of the narrative. The *comes infelicis Ulixi* of Achaemenides, repeated on the lips of Aeneas, strikes the ear with the felicitous effect of a haunting, mournful refrain. Virgil's story, Professor Prescott[7] points out, "emphasizes only the pathetic and gruesome features of the Homeric episode."

Evidence of *Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum* (VIII, 334) Virgil notes at every turn. Nor is it alone for Turnus that he reflects (x, 501): "O heart of man, not knowing doom, nor of events to be!" No approach of death or doom, in fact, fail to interest the poet. With fine dramatic feeling, the warning of woe is generally announced by the word *infelix* before the tragedy is fully revealed, *infelix* often interrupting the narrative like a sob (Ah! the pity of it) that cannot be suppressed. Any appearance of *infelix*,[8] of course, registers the poet's sympathy.

[7] *The Development of Virgil's Art* (Chicago, 1927), pp. 176 ff.

[8] I, 474-478: Parte alia fugiens amissis Troilus armis,
infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli,
fertur equis curruque haeret resupinus inani,
lora tenens tamen; huic cervixque comaeque trahuntur
per terram, et versa pulvis inscribitur hasta.

II, 345 f.: infelix, qui non sponsae (of Coroebus) praecepta furentis
audierit!

455 f.: infelix qua se, dum regna manebant
saepius Andromache ferre incomitata solebat.

III, 49-56: Hunc Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere magno
infelix Priamus furtim mandarat alendum
Threicio regi, cum iam diffideret armis
Dardaniae cingique urbem obsidione videret.
ille, ut opes fractae Teucrum et Fortuna recessit,
res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus
fas omne abrumpit; Polydorum obtruncat et auro
vi potitur.

V, 203 f.: (dum) spatioque subit Sergestus iniquo,
infelix saxis in procurrentibus haesit.

327-333: Iamque fere spatio extremo fessique sub ipsam
finem adventabat, levi cum sanguine Nisus
labitur infelix, caesis ut forte iuvencis
fusus humum viridisque super madefecerat herbas.
hic iuvenis iam victor ovans vestigia presso
haud tenuit titubata solo, sed pronus in ipso
concidit immundoque fimo sacroque cruore.

At the beginning of the second book (3, 12-13) Virgil makes Aeneas say:

> Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,
>
> . . . . . .
>
> quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
> incipiam.

And yet, the reader of the *Aeneid* knows full well that Virgil "loves his griefs and broken sighs." Everywhere, it seems, he takes advantage of the pathetic possibilities of his theme. While epic convention, logical development of the story, or a desire to relieve his patriotism may have prompted him to introduce incidents of sorrow, the moving power with which he sings them must spring from the instinctive impulses of his inner nature. He sings in a plaintive minor mode for no other reason than this, that he can't help doing so.

The felicity of *infelix*, then, lies in the singularly effective way it sets forth, artistically, dramatically, and tragically, a poetical concept which lay very close to the poet's heart. Where words leave off, its implied significance takes up the tale. If poetry ever tells what cannot be said, then certainly *infelix* reveals in the art of Virgil the deepest convictions of the poet's soul.

V, 465-467: Infelix, quae tanta animum dementia cepit?
Non viris alias conversaque numine sentis?
Cede deo.

X, 324-327: Tu quoque, flaventem prima lanugine malas
dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia, Cydon,
Dardania stratus dextra, securus amorum,
qui iuvenum tibi semper erant, miserande, iaceres . . .

424 f.: dum texit Imaona Halaesus,
Arcadio infelix telo dat pectus inermum.

595 f.: frater (Liger) tendebat inertis
infelix palmas, curru delapsus eodem.

730 f.: Sternitur infelix Acron et calcibus atram
tundit humum exspirans infractaque tela cruentat.

781 f.: Sternitur infelix alieno volnere caelumque
aspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos.

II.

WITH VIRGIL IN THE FORUM:

A Virgilian Visit to the *Sacra Via*

It is no secret that the Roman Forum is a distinct disappointment to a large proportion of the people who visit it. A thing of beauty may not have been expected. But even the illusion of a previous splendor seems scarcely justified by the unsightly spectacle of ruins that survive. Mortar, bricks, and building stones may intrigue the fancy of an archaeologist. But they are not likely in themselves, to be especially interesting to the uninitiate. In fact, some classical scholars have been known to remark surreptitiously, "One hole in the ground looks just the same as another to me." It is well, however, to remember that in Augustan times, if Rostovtzeff is correct, 'these monuments impressed the population, not because they were beautiful, but because in their picturesque language they said the same things as the poets expressed, things which everybody felt to be perfectly true.' At no time is it probable that the Forum was either in essence or intention a work of art. Its function, its message was outstandingly a symbolical one. And this same symbolical purpose the Forum, even in its present ruined state, still continues to perform. He that hath eyes to see, let him see. Be sure of it, the blind experience no thrills in Forum.

On entering the *Foro Romano*, then, two essentials cannot be overlooked: the ability to recognize the exact nature of

the objects serving as symbols, and the proper interpretation of the symbolism that is based on this material evidence. The first of these essentials can be gained only in part from a Baedeker. A certain modicum of archaeological (as well as historical) information, forbidding as it seems to be to many a student, and even teacher, of the classics, cannot possibly be sidestepped—unless one cares to think of Caligula as being murdered in a crypto-porticus built by Nero, or Nero himself as sending Christians to their death in the Colosseum. The narrow, much-criticized categories of archaeology have an embarrassing way at times of proving useful. The second essential is supplied ideally by the poet, a poet such as Virgil or Horace, who senses the authentic spirit of his age and lifts his voice in exalted strain to hymn the praises of his people:

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes) pacisque imponere morem,
> parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.

In the light of Virgil or Horace, the mere impression of a *caduceus* on the portal of the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* tells a story that is not to be found in any guide-book or history. No one but a poet possesses the inner eye, the prophetic power that knows how to reveal the spiritual significance of great men and events. And the artistic language of poetry is needed to interpret the artistic language of symbolism. Confronted by the remnants, the reminders of a proud Rome's 'pristine majesty', we all are inclined to muse:

> O that I had the Thracian Poets harpe,
> For to awake out of th' infernall shade
> Those antique Caesars, sleeping long in darke,
> The which this auncient City whilome made!
> Or that I had Amphions instrument,
> To quicken, with his vitall notes accord,

The stonie ioynts of these old walls now rent,
By which th' Ausonian light might be restor'd!
Or that at least I could, with pencill fine,
Fashion the pourtraicts of these palacis,
By paterne of great Virgils spirit divine!
I would assay with that which in me is,
To builde, with levell of my loftie style,
That which no hands can evermore compyle.

No one would refute the proud boast of Virgil as 'Chanter of the Pollio':

Non me carminibus vincet nec Thracius Orpheus,
nec Linus, huic mater quamvis atque huic pater adsit,
Orphei Calliopea, Lino formosus Apollo.

As soon as he begins to strike his lyre, we are disposed to deny that

Now thy Forum roars no longer,
fallen every purple Caesar's dome.

We, no less than Dante, can accept with profit Virgil as our spiritual guide. He is the 'star that gildest yet this phantom shore'.

This happy combination of archaeology and Virgil as ideal companions in the Forum is the subject of our present discussion. But such an allignment of fact and fancy, attractive as it appears to be, is nevertheless far from being accepted as a necessary, or or even desirable, one,—which may perhaps account for the fact that we meet so frequently the

stranger, which for Rome in Rome here seekest,
And nought of Rome in Rome perceivst at all.

To two types of people in particular the Forum is something of a failure—the archaeologist who knows not Virgil, and the classicist who disdains to deal with material facts. Both are disgusted and disgusting in the Forum; both equally deserve the wrath of God!

The span of time covered by ruins in the Forum presents a very considerable problem. What we have is a composite of the ages. For any particular period there is much that must be thought away, much that must be recreated in the imagination. The very sight of the valley encircled by hills recalls the time when

> Hoc, ubi nunc fora sunt, udae tenuere paludes,

the time when independent *oppida* were nestled on the hillslopes. Excavations have traced the steps of man from the Early Iron Age, before ever Rome began, to a time when a declining Rome, forgetful of her proud past, could rear a shaft in disgraceful flattery to the usurper in the East. So long is the story, so diverse the details (longae ambages)! Virgil himself, if appealed to for help, would likely reply in the spirit of Aeneas's words to the Huntress:

> O dea, si prima repetens ab origine pergam
> et vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum
> ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo!

And yet it is possible for Virgil to point out the *fastigia rerum*.

A visit to the Forum could hardly be begun more fittingly than by approaching it from the Trastevere side of the Ponte Palatino, from which point could be approximated at least the experience of Aeneas as he catches his first glimpse of Rome from the Tiber and is led to the Forum by Evander.

> Sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem,
> cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum
> tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia
> caelo
> aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat.

Passing on to the Forum by the Via Bocca della Verità and the Via della Consolazione, it is not difficult to

visualize Evander and his distinguished guest moving on their way through the Forum Boarium.

Ibat rex obsitus aevo,
et comitem Aenean iuxta natumque tenebat
ingrediens varioque viam sermone levabat.
Miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum
Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus
exquiritque auditque virum monumenta priorum.
. . . . . .
Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
quam memorant, Nymphae priscum Carmentis
honorem,
vatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros
Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.

At which juncture, Evander "points out the slopes of the Capitoline covered with dense wood, where Romulus afterwards placed his sanctuary for refugees; and then, on the steep side of the Palatine, the Lupercal where the she wolf was to nurse the twins. Straight ahead was the wooded dell bringing a little stream down into the Forum, and known in historical times as the Argiletum."

Hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer Asylum
rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal,
Parrahasio dictum Panos de more Lycaei.
Nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti
testaturque locum et letum docet hospitis
Argi.

Proceeding from the altar of Carmenta (the Porta Carmentalis was likely close to the intersection of the streets mentioned above) Evander brings the Trojan leader to the edge of the Capitol. And we, emulating this historic walk, would do well to stop when we come (by the Via della Consolazione) to the S. W. corner of the Forum, and allow Virgil to complete the story, since the scene referred to is spread out before us.

Talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque Foro et lautis mugire Carinis.
Ut ventum ad sedes, haec, inquit, limina victor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
Aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.
Dixit et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locavit
effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae.
Nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur alis.

After the eye has followed both guide and guest along the *Via Sacra* to the lowly palace on the Palatine, no view of Palatine from the Forum could fail to recall Virgil's picture of royal host in his modest abode—a prototype of the Augustus that was to be.

Evandrum ex humili tecto lux suscitat alma
et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.

It was close to the Temple of Saturn (i.e. on the road outside the excavations) that our progress was momentarily arrested. A single glance is sufficient to suggest four important stages in the history and development of the site; the ugly granite columns belong to the final restoration in the fourth century A. D.; the travertine walls of the podium date from the rebuilding of Plancus in 42 B. C.; the generous use of cappellaccio in the concrete (actual fragments of cappellaccio masonry can be seen on closer examination on the north and east sides) recalls the republican temple of 497 B. C., the earliest temple in the Forum; the republican temple itself replaced an altar which according to tradition occupied this site. The persistence of cappellaccio in later restorations evinces the Roman's scrupulous practice of incorporating the once-consecrated material in the reconstructed shrine. And there is besides a peculiar

appropriateness in the fact that a temple which harks back to the Saturnian age preserves so much of the earliest building material used at Rome. That the temple was used as a state treasury is easily understandable of a structure that from earliest times has symbolized peace and plenty, security and prosperity,—a prosperity based on the bounty of fields and crops. But we are presuming on the province of our poet.

> Primus ab aetherio venit Saturnus Olympo,
> arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis.
> Is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
> composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
> maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
> Aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
> saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat,
> . . . . . .

Blessed are the *agricolae*, the rural folk that in aftertime usher in once more Saturnian joys:

> O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
> agricolas! quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,
> fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus.
> Si non ingentem foribus domus alta superbis
> mane salutantum totis vomit aedibus undam,
> nec varios inhiant pulchra testudine postis
> inlusasque auro vestis Ephyreiaque aera,
> alba neque Assyrio fucatur lana veneno,
> nec casia liquidi corrumpitur usus olivi:
> at secura quies et nescia fallere vita,
> dives opum variarum, at latis otia fundis
> (speluncae vivique lacus et frigida Tempe
> Mugitusque boum mollesque sub arbore somni)
> non absunt; illic saltus ac lustra ferarum,
> et patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus,
> sacra deum sanctique patres: extrema per illos
> Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.
> . . . . . .
> Hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,

hanc Remus et frater, sic fortis Etruria crevit
scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.
Ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante
impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis,
aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat;
necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis.

As early as 40 B. C., Virgil could sing of Saturn's return to the haunts of men:

Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo.
Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto.
. . . . . .
Errantis hederas passim cum baccare tellus
mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho.
Ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae
ubera, nec magnos metuent armenta leones;
ipsa tibi blandos fundet cunabula flores.
Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
occidet; Assyrium volgo nascetur amomum.
. . . . . .
Cedet et ipse mari vector, nec nautica pinus
mutabit merces; omnis feret omnia tellus.
Non rastros patietur humus, non vinea falcem;
robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator;
nec varios discet mentiri lana colores,
ipse sed in pratis aries iam suave rubenti
murice, iam croceo mutabit vellera luto;
sponte sua sandyx pascentis vestiet agnos.
Talia saecla suis dixerunt currite fusis
concordes stabili fatorum numine Parcae.

All the while we have been standing at the foot of the Capitoline (i.e. in the Via d. Foro Romano). Turning aside from the Forum, it will be found profitable to ascend the steps to our left and make a detour that will take in

the *arces* of the Capitoline before actually entering the enclosure of the excavations.

A view of the Capitoline easily calls to mind the concession of Juno, *Stet Capitolium fulgens*. No longer now does the Capitol stand gleaming. But neither was it *fulgens* when Evander led Aeneas to the foot of this hill:

> Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit,
> aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.

And yet, Virgil's inner eye could look upon the Capitol as symbolizing even at that early time what it came to mean to the mind of the Roman and what it still will represent for us, if we can but understand the language of poetry:

> Iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
> dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.
> Hoc nemus, hunc, inquit, frondoso vertice collem,
> quis deus incertum est, habitat deus; Arcades
> ipsum
> credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem
> aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.

In the Via di Monte Tarpeo (on the south summit of the Capitoline) can be seen the cappellaccio podium[1] of the *aedes Iovis Optimi Maximi*. As noted above, cappellaccio construction has the power of conjuring up before the mind interesting connotations of Etruscan and early republican times. It appeals to the imagination to think that one can look upon the actual foundation on which tradition says the Tarquins built the first temple to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, a temple that was to enjoy an unexampled importance in the affairs of the Roman state. The exact appearance of the temple Virgil saw we do not know. But there is likely more than a figurative significance in the lines describing the work in the shops of Vulcan:

[1]Larger sections can be seen in the Museo Mussolini and along the road winding up on the north west side of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

His informatum manibus iam parte polita
fulmen erat, toto genitor quae plurima caelo
deicit in terras, pars imperfecta manebat.
Tris imbris torti radios, tris nubis aquosae
addiderant, rutili tris ignis et alitis Austri.
Fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque metumque
miscebant operi flammisque sequacibus iras.
. . . . . .
Aegidaque horriferam, turbatae Palladis arma,
certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant,
conexosque anguis ipsamque in pectore divae
Gorgona, desecto vertentem lumina collo.

There is no trouble in picturing the *Capitolini summum penetrale Tonantis*, towering high above the temples in the Forum and seeming to reach up into the sky itself. Well might Virgil think of Jupiter as standing on the pinnacle of heaven:

Et iam finis erat, cum Juppiter aethere summo
despiciens mare velivolum terrasque iacentis
litoraque et latos populos, sic vertice caeli
constitit. . . . .

Had Virgil ever stood in the court of Venus Genetrix in the Julian Forum and gazed up in reverence toward Capitoline Jupiter?

Atque illum talis iactantem pectore curas
tristior et lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis
alloquitur Venus: O qui res hominumque deumque
aeternis regis imperiis et fulmine terres,
quid meus Aeneas in te committere tantum,
quid Troes potuere, quibus tot funera passis
cunctus ob Italiam terrarum clauditur orbis?
Certe hinc Romanos olim volventibus annis,
hinc fore ductores, revocato a sanguine Teucri,
qui mare, qui terras omni dicione tenerent,
pollicitus. Quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?
Hoc equidem occasum Trojae tristisque ruinas

solabar, fatis contraria fata rependens;
. . . . . .
Nos, tua progenies, caeli quibus annuis arcem,
navibus (infandum!) amissis unius ob iram
prodimur atque Italis longe disiungimur oris.
Hic pietatis honos? Sic nos in sceptra reponis?

In Virgil's day the *aedes Concordiae Augustae* had not yet been built. The Julian Forum must have stood out prominently to one looking down from the Capitol. Had Virgil ever thought of Jupiter Capitolinus as smiling serenely on the resplendent shrine of Venus below?

Olli subridens hominum sator atque deorum
voltu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat,
oscula libavit natae, dehinc talia fatur:
Parce metu, Cytherea; manent immota tuorum
fata tibi; cernes urbem et promissa Lavini
moenia sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli
magnanimum Aenean; neque me sententia vertit.
Hic tibi (fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,
longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo)
bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis
contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet,
tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),
triginta . . . . . .

Our position in front of Jupiter's temple brings back the scene (on Vulcan's shield):

In summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat,
Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo.
Atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser
porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;
Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant.
Defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae:
aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis,

virgatis lucent sagulis, tum lactea colla
auro innectantur, duo quisque Alpina coruscant
gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.

Moving toward the north summit of the Capitoline we come (through Vignola's portico) to the Piazza del Campidoglio, the site of the Lucus Asyli; the Arx, the height on which Camillus built the temple of Juno Moneta in 344 B. C., lies directly north of us. In the Giardino dell'Ara to the east of the Capitoline Museum there can be seen still remaining *in situ* a wall of Fidenae tufa, which, because of its position and orientation, its technique, and the limited period during which this material was used in any structure at Rome, must be assigned to the foundations of the temple erected by Camillus. While here it is especially interesting to note that Virgil, in describing the temple Dido built to Juno, seems to have had in mind the archaeology of this site and the appearance of Juno Moneta in his own day:

Lucus in urbe fuit media, laetissimus umbrae,
quo primum iactati undis et turbine Poeni
effodere loco signum, quod regia Iuno
monstrarat, caput acris equi; sic nam fore
bello
egregiam et facilem victu per saecula gentem.
Hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido
condebat, donis opulentum et numine divae,
aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina nexaeque
aere trabes; foribus cardo stridebat aenis.
Hoc primum in luco nova res oblata timorem
leniit; hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem
ausus et afflictis melius confidere rebus.

But this Roman Juno symbolized by the temple on the Arx was not the Juno of the Aeneid who says:

Ast ego, quae divum incedo regina, Iovisque
et soror et conjunx, una cum gente tot annos

bella gero. Et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat
praeterea aut supplex aris imponit honorem?

Or rather, Juno had changed in fulfillment of Jove's prophesies:

Quin aspera Juno,
quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
consilia in melius referet mecumque fovebit
Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

Juno had become at least in the popular mind, *pronuba Juno*.

And wives still pray to Juno
For boys with hearts as bold
As his who kept the bridge so well
In the brave days of old.

Juno had become preeminently the protectress of women:

Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem
difficilisque obitus Irim demisit Olympo,
quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret
artus.

. . . . . .

Ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis
mille trahens varios adverso sole colores
devolat et supra caput astitit: hunc ego Diti
sacrum jussa fero teque isto corpore solvo;
sic ait et dextra crinem secat; omnis et una
dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.

From the top of the steps leading down (from the Piazza del Campidoglio) to the Forum we catch a clear view of Monte Cavo's lofty lines, reminding us of the *Albanique patres*, sires of sons who one day should rear the *altae moenia Romae*.

At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
additur (Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno),
triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
transferet, et longam multa vi muniet Albam.

Hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos
Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet
moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.
His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
imperium sine fine dedi.

Descending the *Via dell' Arco di Settimio Severo* we pass over the northern wing, of the Augustan temple of Concord. The transition from Juno Moneta to Concordia is admirably supplied by Ovid's lines:

Candida, te niveo posuit lux proxima templo,
qua fert sublimes alta Moneta gradus;
nunc bene prospicies Latiam, Concordia, turbam.

A further connection between the two fanes is to be found in the person of Camillus, the builder of both of them.

The actual remains of the *Aedes Concordiae*, although very likely to escape notice entirely, preserve evidence of three distinct periods in the history of the temple: most of the visible remains, marble, concrete (containing red mortar), travertine, and Anio stone, belongs to the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* constructed by Tiberius in 10 A. D.; the grayish yellow concrete (the earliest concrete in Rome) embedded in the podium at the south east corner is part of the structure built by Opimius in 121 B. C.; the caementa of this concrete (yellow Grotta Oscura and scoriated Fidenae tufa) represent broken-up pieces of the Etruscan stone out of which the temple of Camillus was built in 366 B. C. As I stated in a previous study of this material, "it is interesting to note that, while each of these three temples was dedicated to Concord, it was a different Concord that was conceived in each case. It was the Concord of the plebeians to whom a monument was raised in 366 B. C.

It was the Concord of the patricians that was glorified in the splendid edifice of Opimius. In 10 A. D. it was the Concord of the empire. That Opimius should have erected a temple to Concord so vexed the people that there was carved one night beneath the inscription on the temple, 'Discord rears this temple to Concord'—a note of resentment that was sounded again by Augustine several centuries later. As for the Tiberian temple, it was simply the embodiment, in another form, of the idea emphasized in the Pax Augusta.'' But this Augustan peace was based on power, and in a sense carried on the policy of Camillus and the Romans of old.

> Quin Decios Drusosque procul saevumque securi
> aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.

The shining, snow-white temple of Concord that dominated the entire Forum in the time of Augustus was proclaiming to all this message:

> Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera
> (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
> orabunt causas melius caelique meatus
> describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent;
> tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes) pacisque inponere morem,
> parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the symbolism employed by this temple of Concord (or Peace) was the use of Mercury and Hercules as marble sentinels flanking and protecting the approach to the shrine. Mercury of course, symbolizes trade and diplomacy, Hercules symbolizes force, military force—thereby emphasizing the very elements which, as Rostovtzeff argues, were the outstanding ones in Augustus's policy of peace: ''The principal factors in the extension and consolidation of Roman influence in the East were diplomacy and trade. But they

were supported by strong military forces and by a strenuous military activity. An identical policy was followed in Egypt and Arabia and in Northern Africa. By these means a lasting peace was secured for the Roman Empire." And the same view seems to be supported by the frequent use that is made of Mercury and Hercules in the poetry of Virgil and Horace. Hercules, in fact, serves as the inspiration for many a reverential line:

> Rex Euandrus ait: non haec sollemnia nobis,
> has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
> vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
> imposuit: saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis
> servati facimus meritosque novamus honores.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas
> auxilium adventumque dei. Nam maximus ultor,
> tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus,
> Alcides aderat taurosque hac victor agebat,
> ingentis, vallemque boves amnemque tenebant.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
> servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor
> et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri.
> Hanc aram luco statuit, qua Maxima semper
> dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum
> populeis adsunt evincti tempora ramis,
> hic iuvenum chorus, ille senum, qui carmine laudes
> Herculeas et facta ferunt. . . .
>
> Salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis,
> et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.
> Talia carminibus celebrant. . . .

In all these passages Hercules stands out as Saviour and Protector of the Romans, the very embodiment of Mars Ultor and that distinguished descendant of Mars and

Romulus who reared two temples to Mars the Avenger,—Augustus himself, the Saviour and Benefactor of a grateful people. Just as Hercules is worshipped and receives his honors due, so Augustus deserves, at least, to be worshipped and extolled with reverent praise. Augustus is Hercules returned to earth, even as, in Horace, he is Maia's son in human guise:

> Sive mutata iuvenem figura
> Ales in terris imitaris almae
> Filius Maiae, patiens vocari
> Caesaris ultor:
>
> Serus in caelum redeas, diuque
> Laetus intersis populo Quirini,
> Neve te nostris vitiis iniquom
> Ocior aura
>
> Tollat; hic magnos potius triumphos,
> Hic ames dici pater atque princeps,
> Neu sinas Medos equitare inultos,
> Te duce, Caesar.

For Concordia Augusta certainly, Mercury and Hercules are ideal warders.

Before leaving the temple of Concord we would do well to take advantage of the view across the Forum from this point. With the Palatine in front of us and the Carcer (on Via Marforio) to the rear, our thoughts will naturally run to Cicero and Catiline, and perhaps to Plutarch's account: "And first he (Cicero) took Lentulus from the Palatine Hill and led him along the Via Sacra and through the middle of the Forum, the men of highest authority surrounding him as a body-guard, and the peolpe shuddering at what was being done and passing along in silence, and especially the young men, as though they thought they were being initiated with fear and trembling into some

ancient mysteries of an aristocratic regime. When Cicero had passed through the Forum and reached the prison, he delivered Lentulus to the public executioner with the order to put him to death." The occasion was a memorable one, and some forty years later Catiline himself came to be a symbol of iniquity in the art of Virgil:

> Hinc procul addit
> Tartateas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
> et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
> pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem;
> secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem.

The reference to Cato is timely, for it was in this vicinity—perhaps north of the Carcer—that a M. Porcius Cato, the great Censor, built the historic *basilica Porcia* in 184 B. C.

In the northwest corner of the Forum beneath us, are the remains of an ancient altar of Vulcan,[1] the Volcanal, which was cut out of the native cappellaccio of the Capitoline slope—an altar corresponding to the above-mentioned altar of Saturn[1] which Hercules was said to have dedicated in the southwest corner of the Forum. Vulcan, to be sure, is introduced by Virgil in conformity with epic tradition:

> Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
> miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet,
> attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

But the important place assigned Vulcan in the Aeneid was likely due to the continued importance of Vulcan (witness the Volcanal and its cult[2]) in Roman life.

The proximity of the Volcanal and the temple of Venus Genetrix—a lotos tree in the Volcanal was said to have

[1]Sister ships recently built by the Italian Cosulich Line are fittingly named Saturnia and Vulcania.

[2]A dedicatory inscription of 9 B. C. includes Augustus among those who honored this sanctuary.

roots extending to Caesar's Forum—recalls the close associations of Vulcan and Venus in Virgil's story:

> At Venus haud animo nequiquam exterrita mater,
> Laurentumque minis et duro mota tumultu,
> Volcanum adloquitur, thalamoque haec coniugis aureo
> incipit et dictis divinum adspirat amorem:
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . . . ego poscor Olympo;
> hoc signum cecinit missuram diva creatrix,
> si bellum ingrueret, Volcaniaque arma per auras
> laturam auxilio.
> Heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!
> Quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas
> scuta virum galeasque et fortia corpora volves,
> Thybri pater! poscant acies et foedera rumpant.

Leading north from our present position, the Via Bonella affords a view through the site of the Julian Forum and on beyond to the huge columns of Mars Ultor in the Augustan Forum. This route to the Forum (Via Bonella turning into the Via Salara Vecchia on the right) is a particularly felicitous one, since it thus calls our attention in advance to the very men about whom the monuments in the Forum are most eloquent—Julius Caesar and Augustus. Of the two, the more prominent is Augustus, who brought to completion most of the works begun or planned by his adoptive father. So, in the Aeneid, Virgil makes Augustus stand out as the one who brings to full fruition the great glories of the Julian line. In a word, the message of architectural symbolism is repeated on the lips of the poet.

On entering the Forum itself, one is confronted with monuments that are prevailingly Augustan in level and general orientation. But there is also the testimony of earlier and later periods. Dr. Van Deman points to the evidence for a Forum of Julius Caesar beneath that of Augustus. Its level, 12.60 m. a. s. l., which was the same

as the Augustan at the east end of the Forum, was apparently maintained without any provision for draining. This Julian work includes the *cuniculi* (underground corridors running east and west through the Forum) together with the travertine slabs lining the openings into the shafts, marble pavements (at some points 70 cm. below the Augustan pavement) found by the excavators especially between the Lacus Curtius and the Basilica Julia, and the travertine blocks on the Lacus Curtius.

The name of Julius Caesar was associated with four important structures in the Forum: the Basilica Julia, the Curia Julia, the Templum Divi Juli, and the Rostra of Julius Caesar which was incorporated in that of Augustus. The concrete of Caesar's Curia is clearly visible beneath the work of Augustus and Diocletian.

But what manner of man was this Caesar, that he should be so signally honored?

> Illae autem, paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,
> concordes animae nunc et dum nocte premuntur,
> heu! quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae
> attigerint, quantas acies stragemque ciebunt,
> aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci
> descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois!
> Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella,
> neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris;
> tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo;
> proiçe tela manu, sanguis meus!
>
> Solem quis dicere falsum
> audeat? Ille etiam caecos instare tumultus
> saepe monet fraudemque et operta tumescere bella.
> Ille etiam exstincto miseratus Caesare Romam,
> cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit
> impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.
> Tempore quamquam illo tellus quoque et aequora ponti,
> obscenaeque canes importunaeque volucres

signa dabant. Quotiens Cyclopum effervere in agros
vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,
flammarumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa!
Armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo
audiit, insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes.
Vox quoque per lucos volgo exaudita silentis
ingens, et simulacra modis pallentia miris
visa sub obscurum noctis pecudesque locutae,
infandum! Sistunt amnes terraeque dehiscunt,
et maestum inlacrimat templis ebur aeraque sudant.
Proluit insano contorquens vertice silvas
fluviorum rex Eridanus camposque per omnis
cum stabulis armenta tulit. Nec tempore eodem
tristibus aut extis fibrae apparere minaces
aut puteis manare cruor cessavit, et altae
per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes.
Non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno
fulgura nec diri totiens arsere cometae.

The Templum Divi Juli, standing on the very spot where Caesar's body was burned, can still speak to us, as it did to the Romans, in the eloquent phrases of Antony (Dio Cassius in Cary's translation):

"Yet this father, this high-priest, this inviolable being, this hero and god, is dead, alas, dead not by the violence of some disease, nor wasted by old age, nor wounded abroad somewhere in some war, nor caught up inexplicably by some supernatural force, but right here within the walls as the result of a plot—the man who had safely led an army into Britain; ambushed in this city—the man who had enlarged its pomerium; murdered in the senate-house—the man who had reared another such edifice at his own expense; unarmed—the brave warrior; defenceless—the promoter of peace; the judge—beside the court of justice; the magistrate—beside the seat of government; at the hands of citizens—he whom none of the enemy had been able to kill even when he fell into the sea; at the hands

of his comrades—he who had often taken pity on them. Of what avail, O Caesar, was your humanity? of what avail your inviolability? of what avail the laws? Nay, though you enacted many laws that men might not be killed by their personal foes, yet how mercilessly you yourself were slain by your friends! And now, the victim of assassination, you lie dead in the Forum through which, crowned, you often led the triumph; wounded to death, you have been cast upon the rostra from which you have often addressed the people. Woe for the blood-bespattered locks of gray! Alas for the rent robe, which you assumed, it seems, only that you might be slain in it!"

As stated above, the Forum is preeminently a glorification of Augustus. The general level of the streets of selce slabs, the central pavement of travertine, the arrangement and actual materials of most of the surrounding monuments,—all must be assigned to Augustan building activity. The materials easiest to recognise in Augustan structures are the dusky red mortar, brown Anio stone, travertine, and occasionally some Luna marble. The semicircular enclosure in front of *Aedes Divi Juli*, the *Rostra Augusti*, the *Templum Castoris*, and the *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* can be cited as examples. In the Monumentum Ancyranum, Augustus states that he rebuilt or restored eighty-two temples. His simple account of accomplishments it is interesting to compare with the transfigured glory of his *res gestae* in the monuments of stone or verse. For example, he writes:

Qui parentem meum interfecerunt, eos in exsilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae vici bis acie.

How different the story as told by the Temple of Mars Ultor or by the verses of Ovid:

Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores
templaque in Augusto conspicienda Foro.
Et deus est ingens, et opus: debebat in Urbe
non aliter nati Mars habitare sui.

Of the buildings he constructed, Augustus says in part:

Curiam et continens ei chalcidicum, templumque Apollinis in Palatio cum porticibus, aedem divi Iuli, Lupercal, . . . aedes in Capitolio Iovis Feretri et Iovis Tonantis, . . . aedem Larum in summa sacra via, aedem deum Penatium in Velia, aedem Iuventatis, aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci.

Capitolium et Pompeium theatrum utrumque opus impensa grandi refeci sine ulla inscriptione nominis mei. . . Forum Iulium et basilicam, quae fuit inter aedem Castoris et aedem Saturni, coepta profligataque opera a patre meo perfeci et eandem basilicam consumptam incendio ampliato eius solo sub titulo nominis filiorum meorum incohavi et, si vivus non perfecissem, perfici ab heredibus iussi. . . . .

In privato solo Martis Ultoris templum forumque Augustum ex manibiis feci. Theatrum ad aede Apollinis in solo magna ex parte a privatis empto feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcelli generi mei esset. Dona ex manibiis in Capitolio et in aede divi Iuli et in aede Apollinis et in aede Vestae et in templo Martis Ultoris consacravi.

But the gleaming temples with all their grandeur, with all their wealth of artistic symbolism, said a great deal more than is contained in these cold, terse notes of Augustus's "diary." They told of Augustan piety, Augustan power, Augustan peace and prosperity. Only the poetry of a Virgil could sustain the lofty theme, only the language of poetry could reveal quite fully the meaning of the man and his age.

It is Jupiter himself who speaks this unerring prophesy:

Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar,
imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris,
Julius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo.
Hunc tu olim caelo spoliis Orientis onustum
accipies secura; vocabitur hic quoque votis.
Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur belli portae; Furor impius intus
saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

The prophecy is repeated by Anchises in the underworld:

Huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem
Romanosque tuos. Hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
progenies, magnum caeli ventura sub axem.
Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
proferet imperium (iacet extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum):
huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna
responsis horret divum et Maeotia tellus,
et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili.
Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
fixerit aeripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
pacarit nemora, et Lernam tremefecerit arcu;
nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis
Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.
Et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis,
aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?

Even while writing the Georgics at Naples, Virgil began his glorification of Augustus as victor, saviour, god among men:

Haec super arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam
et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum

fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.
Illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti.

Tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
concilia, incertum est, urbisne invisere, Caesar,
terrarumque velis curam et te maximus orbis
auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem
accipiat, cingens materna tempora myrto,
an deus immensi venias maris ac tua nautae
numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule,
teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis,
anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
qua locus Erigonem inter Chelasque sequentis
panditur (ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
Scorpios et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit):
quidquid eris (nam te nec sperant Tartara regem
nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido,
quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos
nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem),
da facilem cursum, atque audacibus adnue coeptis,
ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis
ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.

Non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno
fulgura nec diri totiens arsere cometae.
Ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis
Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi;
nec fuit indignum superis, bis sanguine nostro
Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.
Scilicet et tempus veniet, cum finibus illis
agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro
exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila,
aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,
grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.
Di patrii, Indigetes, et Romule Vestaque mater,
quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas,
hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo

ne prohibete! Satis iam pridem sanguine nostro
Laomedonteae luimus periuria Troiae;
iam pridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar,
invidet atque hominum queritur curare triumphos;
quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas: tot bella per orbem,
tam multae scelerum facies: non ullus aratro
dignus honos, squalent abductis arva colonis
et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem.
Hinc movet Euphrates illinc Germania bellum;
vicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes
arma ferunt; saevit toto Mars impius orbe:
ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,
addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens
fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas.

In describing the shield of Vulcan, Virgil portrays his most ambitious picture of Augustus. And in reading these verses, we would do well to reflect that there were features and symbols in the decorative scheme of the Augustan Forum to remind the Roman of all that Virgil here narrates:

Haec inter tumidi late maris ibat imago,
aurea, sed fluctu spumabant caerula cano,
et circum argento clari delphines in orbem
aequora verrebant caudis aestumque secabant.
In medio classis aeratas, Actia bella,
cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres
fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus.
Hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar
cum patribus populoque, Penatibus et magnis dis,
stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui tempora flammas
laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus;
parte alia ventis et dis Agrippa secundis
arduus agmen agens; cui, belli insigne superbum,
tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.
Hinc ope barbarica variisque Antonius armis,
victor ab Aurorae populis et litore rubro,
Aegyptum viresque Orientis et ultima secum

Bactra vehit, sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx.
Una omnes ruere ac totum spumare reductis
convolsum remis rostrisque tridentibus aequor.
Alta petunt; pelago credas innare revolsas.
Cycladas aut montis concurrere montibus altos:
tanta mole viri turritis puppibus instant.
Stuppea flamma manu telisque volatile ferrum
spargitur, arva nova Neptunia caede rubescunt.
Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro,
necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis.
Omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator Anubis
contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
tela tenent. Saevit medio in certamine Mavors
caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere Dirae,
et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla,
quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello.
Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo
desuper: omnis eo terrore Aegyptus et Indi,
omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabaei.
Ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis
vela dare et laxos iam iamque immittere funis.
Illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura
fecerat Ignipotens undis et Iapyge ferri,
contra autem magno maerentem corpore Nilum
pandentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
caeruleum in gremium latebrosaque flumina victos.
At Caesar, triplici invectus Romana triumpho
moenia, dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat,
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
Laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant;
omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;
ante aras terram caesi stravere iuvenci.
Ipse, sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi,
dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
postibus; incedunt victae longo ordine gentes,
quam variae linguis, habitu tam vestis et armis.
Hic Nomadum genus et discinctos Mulciber Afros,
hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos
finxerat; Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,

extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,
Indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus
Araxes.

The Forum, however, was more than a monument to Caesar and Augustus. It presented to the Roman mind an impressive accumulation of personal associations that were deeply hallowed by the tradition of centuries. Foremost among these personalities was Romulus, founder of the Roman citadel, father of the Roman race. Statues of Romulus and Titus Tatius no longer stand at either end of the Sacra Via, nor can a miraculous fig tree be seen in the Comitium. But where the Comitium joins the northern edge of the Forum there is still in evidence the Lapis Niger and adjacent monuments, which appear to have been venerated as the tomb of Romulus, or of Hostilius. At the eastern end of the Sacra Via, close to the Porta Mugonia are the probable remains of the restored Temple of Juppiter Stator, which M. Atilius Regulus built in 294 B. C. on the spot where tradition said Romulus vowed a shrine to Juppiter Stator, when he had been routed across the Forum by the Sabines. In Virgil the lustre of this tradition fortunately remains undimmed:

Quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet
Romulus, Assaraci quem sanquinis Ilia mater
educet. Viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae
et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
En huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma
imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,
septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,
felix prole virum: qualis Berecyntia mater
invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes,
laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,
omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenentis.

Fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro
procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum

ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem
impavidos, illam tereti cervice reflexa
mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.
Nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas
consessu caveae, magnis Circensibus actis,
addiderat, subitoque novum consurgere bellum
Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque severis.
Post idem inter se posito certamine reges
armati Iovis ante aram paterasque tenentes
stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca.
Haud procul inde citae Mettum in diversa quadrigae
distulerant (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!)
raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus
per silvam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres.

On the north side of the Forum, close to the Curia, stood the Temple of Janus (sometimes called *portae belli*), of which no remains have been found, although a coin of Nero preserves for us a picture of the bronze structure. Only in time of peace were the gates of the temple closed. To one of these rare periods (after the battle of Actium) Virgil refers in the lines:

Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur belli portae; Furor impius intus
saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aenis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.

But the warlike Romans rejoiced in their descent from Mars, and the Forum was filled with monuments that redounded to his glory, whether it chanced to be a statue of the victor, a *columna rostrata*, the decoration of a basilica, or the beaks of ships captured at Antium or Actium. No wonder that the workshops of Vulcan were concerned with the theme:

Parte alia Marti currumque rotasque volucris
instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus excitat urbes.

No wonder that Mars Ultor could take over distinctions previously enjoyed by Juppiter Optimus Maximus. In fact, Jupiter himself speaks thus of the Children of Mars:

> Hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
> gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos,
> Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
> Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus
> Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet
> moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet.
> His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono;
> imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera Juno,
> quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat
> consilia in melius referet mecumque fovebit
> Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.
> Sic placitum. Veniet lustris labentibus aetas,
> cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenas
> servitio premet ac victis dominabitur Argis.

Rome, exalted mistress of a world-empire, recorded her victories, honored her heroes in the mute yet eloquent testimony of the Forum. Virgil, poet and prophet of his people, pays his tribute to valor in the patriotic flow and fervor of his lines:

> Hinc populum late regem belloque superbum
> venturum exscidio Libyae; sic volvere Parcas.

> Tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
> exercete odiis cinerique haec mittite nostro
> munera. Nullus amor populis nec foedera sunto;
> exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,
> qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos,
> nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires;
> litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas
> imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.

> Quin Decios Drusosque procul saevumque securi
> aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Quis te, magne Cato tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquat?

Quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,
Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem
Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?
Quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? Tu Maximus ille es,
unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.

. . . . . .

Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.
Hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu,
sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,
tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.

It is appropriate to turn next to the Regia, since it contained a *sacrarium Martis*, and had inscribed on its south and west walls the *fasti consulares* and the *fasti triumphales*. According to tradition the residence of Numa, it later became the office of the Pontifex Maximus. The cappellaccio blocks that can be easily distinguished in the south podium-wall are said to date from the Regia of the Regal period. The yellow Etruscan (Servian wall) stone in the rear wall of the podium and the pavement (in the north chamber) of Monte Verde slabs (a dull brown tufa distinguished by small green flakes and veins of a lime deposit) seem to belong to the rebuilding of 148 B.C. The marble temple built by Calvinus in 36 B. C. followed essentially the same lines as the earlier structures. Fragments of the panels on which the lists of consuls and triumphs were inscribed can be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. Virgil, who probably had often been impressed by these *fasti* on the Regia walls, reproduces, so to speak, on the shield of Aeneas the distinction he had noted in the marble memorials:

Illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi

fecerat Ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae
stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.

The impressive list of triumphs calls to mind such a scene as Anchises presented to Aeneas in the Underworld:

Quis procul ille autem ramis insignis olivae
sacra ferens? Nosco crinis incanaque menta
regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem
fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra
missus in imperium magnum. Cui deinde subibit
otia qui rumpet patriae residesque movebit
Tullus in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis
agmina, Quem iuxta sequitur iactantior Ancus,
nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.
Vis et Tarquinios reges, animamque superbam
ultoris Bruti fascisque videre receptos?
Consulis imperium hic primus saevasque securis
accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventis
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,
infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores:
vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.

Within the Regia were kept the sacred shields and spears, books of ritual, archives of the pontifices—thus bringing to mind the scene on Virgil's 'shield':

Hic exsultantis Salios nudosque Lupercos
lanigerosque acies et lapsa ancilia caelo
extuderat, castae ducebant sacra per urbem
pilentis matres in mollibus.

Like the Regia, the adjoining Temple of Vesta was assigned by tradition to the enterprise of Numa. The importance and sacred character of the spot is implied in the verses of Virgil:

Vestaque mater,
quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas.

Or in the line of Ovid:

Hic locus est Vesta, qui Pallada servat et ignem.

Regia, Temple of Vesta and Atrium Vestae are all referred to indirectly in the famous lines of Horace:

> Usque ego postera
> crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
> scandet cum tacita virgine Pontifex.

Professor Tenney Frank makes the interesting conjecture that the narrow conduits, usually of Monte Verde tufa, that are to be found here and there in the Forum were constructed to carry away from altars the blood of victims slain in sacrifice. Such drains can be seen in the remains of the Regia, in front of the Regia, north of the Atrium Vestae near the Domus Publica, and on the Sacra Via to east of the old sepulcretum (in front of the modern storeroom). Concerning the drain in front of the Temple of Saturn, Professor Frank writes: "The vaulted passage-way gave space enough for workmen to keep the channel in repair, which must be provided for, since the cappellaccio was not strong. The vault of this drain is probably one of the oldest in existence in Rome, for not only is it made of cappellaccio but the runnel is here of the same material, whereas those of the second century B. C. are usually of Monte Verde tufa. This drain probably belongs to the fourth century B. C. We seem then to have at this point the old altar of the original Saturn temple." Remains of cappellaccio altars can be identified at several points in the Forum, but the mere existence of altar drains is sufficient to remind us how important an element in Roman public life was the Roman ritual of sacrifice. He who visits the Forum without catching this connotation misses much that is characteristically Roman. Virgil, however, can evoke for us ideally the ritualistic and reverential mood:

> Ore favete omnes et cingite tempora ramis.
> Sic fatus velat materna tempora myrto.
> Hoc Helymus facit, hoc aevi maturus Acestes,

hoc puer Ascanius, sequitur quos cetera pubes.
Ille e concilio multis cum milibus ibat
ad tumulum magna medius comitante caterva.
Hic duo rite mero libans carchesia Baccho
fundit humi, duo lacte novo, duo sanguine sacro,
purpureosque iacit flores ac talia fatur:
Salve, sancte parens, iterum salvête, recepti
nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae!

. . . . . .

Hoc magis inceptos genitor instaurat honores
incertus, geniumne loci famulumne parentis
esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis
totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuvencos
vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat
Anchisae magni Manisque Acheronte remissos.
Nec non et socii, quae cuique est copia, laeti
dona ferunt; onerant aras mactantque iuvencos;
ordine aena locant alii fusique per herbam
subiciunt veribus prunas et viscera torrent.

Ipsa Paphum sublimis abit sedesque revisit
laeta suas, ubi templum illi centumque Sabaeo
ture calent arae sertisque recentibus halant.
Post idem inter se posito certamine reges
armati Iovis ante aram paterasque tenentes
stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca.

Haec ubi dicta dedit, solio se tollit ab alto
et primum Herculeis sopitas ignibus aras
excitat hesternumque Larem parvosque Penatis
laetus adit; mactant lectas de more bidentis
Euandrus pariter, pariter Troiana iuventus.

Much of Roman ritual came from the Etruscans, who have left, as reminders of their occupation, the famous sixth-century stele of Grotta Oscura (yellow Etruscan) stone, the cappellaccio foundations of Juppiter Capitolinus, the Vicus Tuscus named from the artisans brought to build this temple, and the orientation (toward the east) of such

early structures as the Regia and the Temple of Vesta. Nor is Virgil silent about the Etruscans:

> Haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto
> urbis Agyllinae sedes, ubi Lydia quondam
> gens, bello praeclara, iugis insedit Etruscis,
> Hanc multos florentem annos rex deinde superbo
> imperio et saevis tenuit Mezentius armis.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis,
> regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte reposcunt.
> His ego te, Aenea, ductorem milibus addam.
> . . . . . Tum Etrusca resedit
> hoc acies campo, monitis exterrita divum.
> Ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam
> cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarchon,
> succedam castris Tyrrhenaque regna capessam.
> Nec non Tarquinium eiectum Porsenna iubebat
> accipere ingentique urbem obsidione premebat;
> Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant.

Also a part of the tradition of Rome's early beginnings was the story of Juturna, sister of Turnus, whose memory was kept ever fresh by her fount (*lacus*) at foot of the Palatine.

> At, procul ut Dirae stridorem adgnovit et alas,
> infelix crinis scindit Iuturna solutos,
> unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis:
> quid nunc te tua, Turne, potest germana iuvare?
> aut quid iam durae superat mihi? Qua tibi lucem
> arte morer? Talin possum me opponere monstro?
> Iam iam linquo acies. Ne me terrete timentem,
> obscenae volucres: alarum verbera nosco
> letalemque sonum, nec fallunt iussa superba
> magnanimi Iovis. Haec pro virginitate reponit?
> Quo vitam dedit aeternam? Cur mortis adempta est
> condicio? Possem tantos finire dolores
> nunc certe, et misero fratri comes ire per umbras!
> Immortalis ego? Aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum

> te sine, frater, erit? O quae satis ima dehiscat
> terra mihi Manisque deam demittat ad imos?
> Tantum effata caput glauco contexit amictu,
> multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto.

Juturna and her brother are represented in relief on the marble altar in front of the *Aedicula Juturnae*, just to the south of the fountain.

But enough of details. Let us ascend the Palatine and look upon the Forum as a whole. Claudian (in the translation of Grant Showerman) will stimulate our imagination: "Surely no other seat (than the Palatine) were fit abode for those who rule the world; on no hill is Sovereignty more conscious of its worth, or feels more deeply the pride of supreme power. Rearing aloft its crown, with the Rostra far below, the Palace looks forth upon countless sanctuaries and countless sentinel gods encircling it. How fair a sight, to behold yonder beneath the gable of Thundering Jove the graven temple doors and their Giants in space above the Tarpeian Rock, to look upon statues soaring amid the clouds, and upon the high air dense with thronging temples, and everywhere the terrain a forest of columns adorned with beaks from many a conquered ship, and palaces reposing on foundations mountain-high which the hands of man have upreared, adding still to Nature, and arches unnumbered, rich with glittering spoils of war! The eye is blinded and bewildered by flashing metal and the gleam of gold on every hand."

Not always, nevertheless, was the Forum an edifying and inspiring sight. It was the place where gathered the crowded, seething mob. It was the place where orators harangued a noisy throng. And it was likely this aspect of it (Ovid's *verbosi garrula bella fori*) that influenced Virgil in singing the happy lot of the farmer,—a passage that is all the more pertinent here because of its allusions to

Cinna, Marius, Sulla, Catiline, Lucullus, Crassus, Hortensius, Cicero, and Pompey:

> Fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestis,
> Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.
> Illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum
> flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres,
> aut coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro,
> non res Romanae perituraque regna; neque ille
> aut doluit miserans inopem aut invidit habenti.
> Quos rami fructus, quos ipsa volentia rura
> sponte tulere sua, carpsit, nec ferrea iura
> insanumque forum aut populi tabularia vidit.
> Sollicitant alii remis freta caeca, ruuntque
> in ferrum, penetrant aulas et limina regum;
> hic petit excidiis urbem miserosque penatis,
> ut gemma bibat et Sarrano dormiat ostro;
> condit opes alius defossoque incubat auro;
> hic stupet attonitus rostris; hunc plausus hiantem
> per cuneos geminatus enim plebisque patrumque
> corripuit, gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum,
> exsilioque domos et dulcia limina mutant
> atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem.

Every phase of life in the Forum seems to be reflected in the verses of Virgil. If the Forum in all its architectural splendor symbolized the greatness and grandeur of Rome, Virgil has made that glory perennial. Marble shaft and gleaming temple have fallen into ruins, but Virgil has erected a monument more enduring than bronze or marble. Thanks to the poet and seer, scarcely an age has doubted Rome's immortality. Several years after the death of Virgil, a chorus of young men and maidens sang Horace's hymn on Palatine and Capitoline:

> Alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
> promis et celas aliusque et idem
> nasceris, possis nihil urbe Roma
> visere maius!

In the fourth century Claudian addresses the "City eternal as the sky":

> Surge, precor, veneranda parens, et certa secundis
> fide deis humilemque metum depone senectae,
> urbs aequaeva polo. Tum demum ferrea sumet
> ius in te Lachesis, cum sic mutaverit axem
> foederibus natura novis.

But when Claudian wrote, the temples of the Forum stood gleaming with gold and metal. When Byron beheld this fair sight in ruins, he still could sing, in spite of it all, of a *Roma* (the Rome of Livy and Virgil) that would be *Aeterna:*

> Alas, the lofty city! and alas,
> The trebly hundred triumphs! and the day
> When Brutus made the dagger's edge surpass
> The conqueror's sword in bearing fame away!
> Alas, for Tully's voice, and Virgil's lay,
> And Livy's pictured page!—But these shall be
> Her resurrection; all beside—decay.

And we of today will have seen Rome aright, if we can exclaim, with the conviction of Samuel Rogers, that Rome is the city which

> Still o'er the mind maintains, from age to age,
> Her empire undiminish'd.

III.

SYMPHONY OF LOVE: A STUDY IN SYMMETRY.

As a *Liebestraum*, a *chanson* of equally balanced, fully-requited love, the *Septimius and Acme* of Catullus (45) bids fair to remain perennially incomparable:

Acmen Septimios suos amores
Tenens in gremio 'Mea' inquit, 'Acme,
Ni te perdite amo atque amare porro
Omnes sum adsidue paratus annos
Quantum qui pote plurimum perire,
Solus in Libya Indiaque tosta
Caesio veniam obvius leoni.'
Hoc ut dixit, Amor, sinistra ut ante,
Dextra sternuit adprobationem.
At Acme leviter caput reflectens
Et dulcis pueri ebrios ocellos
Illo purpureo ore saviata
'Sic' inquit, 'mea vita, Septimille,
Huic uni domino usque serviamus,
Ut multo mihi maior acriorque,
Ignis mollibus ardet in medullis.'
Hoc ut dixit, Amor, sinistra ut ante,
Dextra sternuit adprobationem.
Nunc ab auspicio bono profecti
Mutuis animis amant amantur.
Unam Septimius misellus Acmen
Mavult quam Syrias Britanniasque:
Uno in Septimio fidelis Acme
Facit delicias libidinesque.
Quis ullos homines beatiores
Vidit, quis Venerem auspicatiorem?

A poem so simple as this is in thought and form and expression has nevertheless suffered more at the hands of

literal-minded, pedantic commentators than any other poem in the Latin language. Even the evident purpose of the poet is obscured in their efforts to clear up problems which never should have been allowed to rise at all. Catullus presents here an idyllic picture of love's reciprocity; with directness and simplicity he aims at nothing more than this. But what he does attempt to do, he accomplishes ideally, ideally from the artistic standpoint. All the artistic agencies that contribute to poetic effectiveness seem to be present here in quintessential form. Commentators, however, all too frequently forget the nature and function of poetry. They forget that poetry very rarely is a reliable biographical or historical source, that it is the nature of poetry to use figurative language, that poetry must be judged and interpreted by artistic standards and not merely by reference to the thought of other writers (whether of poetry or prose). Poetry, of course, deals with form and sound and feeling as well as with thought. Tennyson saw no difficulty in this poem; he found it "lovely". But then, Tennyson was a poet, not a pedant.

Far from understanding the clear intention of the poet, classical scholars consider it worth while to ask "whether the poem is purely ideal or was written in honor of the love of some actual friend". Isn't the mood depicted by a poem (if it is genuine poetry) sufficient justification for it? Do we need to know more than the poem itself reveals? Some scholars apparently think we do; for they proceed to supply what seem to them to be the necessary details of time and place and circumstance. Forgetting that poetry reveals what cannot be said, they explain with a deadly, prosaic definiteness expressions that were meant to have poetical significance. To appreciate the poem it

would seem we must be told in advance that Septimius was, or represents, a young man in high station at Rome who has "in the bag" a commission with either Crassus or Caesar. He has called—it was early in March of the year 55 B. C.—to bid goodbye to his mistress. It is night and the lovers are alone—except for Amor who stands on their left. The right side of Septimius touches the couch. . . . And all the while it is important to remember that Acme, being Greek, will be gratified if the sneezing is on the right. Every essential detail is cleared up for us except the color of the gown the lady wore and the exact moment in the evening (daylight-saving time) when began "those kisses they did kiss". But the ironical part of this procedure is that these commentators in their desire for prosaic accuracy have created for themselves unsolvable problems which in reality the poem does not contain. Merrill says, "The reading seems correct as it stands here (8-9, 17-18), so far as the contrast of *sinistra* and *dextra* is concerned, but a satisfactory interpretation of *sinistra ut ante* is impossible". And recent attempts[1] to explain it have only added to an impressive accumulation of pedantic ingenuity. Tennyson, however, acting on the assumption that Catullus was a poet, allowed the lines to convey their intended poetical force, to which he refers in *Edwin Morris:*

> Shall not Love to me,
> As in the Latin song I learnt at school
> Sneeze out a full God-bless-you right and left.[2]

Sinistra ut ante dextra is merely a symmetical gesture, one of many which the poem, because of its subject, very appropriately employs. So we find *Acmen Septimios* ("Acme

[1]See especially J. B. Stearns, *C. P.*, XXIV, pp. 48-59.

[2]Cf. the parody of J. Hookham Frere:

> He spoke; and to the left and right,
> Norfolk hiccupped with delight.

the prime, Septimios from septem the prime number''), *in Libya Indiaque* (6), *Syrias Britanniasque* (22), *delicias libidinesque* (24), *etc.* The expression *Syrias Britanniasque* has been pounced upon by historians and literalists as a reliable source for the date of the poem and for many of the elaborate details referred to above. But this very date, 55 B. C., raises another problem which these same scholars have been unable to explain,—the difficulty of reconciling the bitter epigrams of that year with the spirit of this poem. Gratuitous efforts of this sort should suggest the advisability of interpreting Latin poetry directly from the Latin in its poetical form and not from anyone's translation or transverbalization of it. *Syrias Britanniasque* in this poem is a poetical phrase with a poetical significance, a significance that will not be missed by anyone who sees what Catullus is driving at in the whole poem. Britain and Syria, of course, did not become lands of fabulous riches all of a sudden in 55 B. C.

The very simplicity of the poem seems to have led some astray. But it is this simplicity, this ideal clarity that stands out as its distinctive quality, the simplicity that only consummate art can achieve. The one theme that Catullus sings is love, the ideal, equally-balanced love of man and maid; the notes of the one harmonize euphoniously with the notes of the other so as to produce a perfect symphony of love. The purpose of the poet is to present a picture of perfect balance, and in presenting that picture he very naturally makes use of symmetry, symmetry of every conceivable kind, as the artistic agency best adapted to his purpose.

Let us consider first the symmetry in the form of the poem as a whole. The love of man for maid (ll. 1-7) is balanced by love of maid for man (ll. 10-16); Love's ap-

proval of man (ll. 8-9) is balanced by Love's approval of maid (ll. 17-18); the two lines following (19-20) comment on this balance.

Lines 1-20 can be grouped numerically:

$$(7+2)+(7+2)+2.$$

The remainder of the poem repeats this same formal gesture within shorter compass. The love of man for maid (ll. 21-22) is balanced by the love of maid for man (ll. 23-24); the two lines following (25-26) comment on this balance. Lines 21-26 can be grouped numerically:

$$2 + 2 + 2.$$

The poem as a whole, then, is composed of two parallel divisions (ll. 1-20 and 21-26) which evince a quasi-architectural symmetry in their relation to one another. It may be indicated thus:

$$\begin{array}{ccccc} (7 + 2) & + & (7 + 2) & + & 2 \\ 2 & + & 2 & + & 2. \end{array}$$

The formal balance of the first line strikes the keynote for the whole poem. The logical *Chiasmus* is reinforced by the chiastic arrangement of alliterative words, A S s a; the line has the symmetry of an architectural unit. And this line beginning the first division is very appropriately balanced by line 21 which begins the second division:

> Acmen Septimius suos amores (1)
> Unam Septimius misellus Acmen (21).

Equally appropriate is it that line 21 balances line 23:

> Unam Septimius misellus Acmen (21)
> Uno in Septimio fidelis, Acme (23).

Parallelism appears in the "triumphant appeal" with which the poem closes:

> Quis ullos homines beatiores
> Vidit, quis Venerem auspicatiorem?

Formal symmetry, however, occurs in almost every line, as in the alliterative scheme (p a a p) of line 3,

perdite amo atque amare porro.

Or again, in the arrangement of words in line 4, which can be illustrated in this way:

Omnes annos
sum paratus
adsidue

Or in line 20,

Mutuis animis amant amantur, in which the formal balance of *Mutuis animis* and *amant amantur* brings out into higher relief the thought of verse.

But symmetry of form is accompanied by symmetry of sound. The whole poem, as Sikes points out, is written in the key of *A*, which resulted doubtless from the fact that *A* is the initial letter in the words, *Amor* and *Acme*. No one, of course, would be so foolish as to suppose that Catullus set out with the deliberate intention of using *a*-sounds; a poet (certainly one with the musical sensitiveness of Catullus) writing of *Amor* and *Acme*, of ideal, harmonious love, would find his instinctive, artistic sense leading him on in that direction. The insistence on any letter throughout a poem makes for unity, and is especially felicitous in a poem whose theme is the ideal oneness of spirit that crowns love's happy hour. That this letter happens to be *a*, is doubly fortunate; for *a* in Latin was the "open-throat" vowel, a sound preeminently suited to lyric utterance and one that reminds us, incidentally, of the happy lot of Keats's nightingale, that "singest of summer in full-throated ease". Ellis (p. 161) pointedly refers to "effective triple alliteration (of Acme's *multo mihi maior*) in answer to Septimius's *pote plurimum perire*". But he failed to note that the triple alliteration (involving *a*, the

keynote of the poem) in *animis amant amantur* (20) resolves with fitting cadence the triple alliteration in the avowals of Septimius and Acme, just as lines 19-20 resolve, in thought, lines 1-9 (Septimius's love) and lines 10-16 (Acme's love). It is interesting to notice that the third letter of Septimius is stressed in Septimius's *pote plurimum perire*, the third letter of Acme in Acme's *multo mihi maior*. And, since *p* has "the same articulative position as the nasal *m*", the correlation of these two sounds is just as pertinent as that of Acme (the prime) and Septimius (septem, the prime number) themselves.

The musical character of the poem, as well as its theme, is announced in the opening line:

> Acmen Septimios suos amores.

Tonal symmetry enhances the effect of logical and formal symmetry. Musically, the remainder of the poem is developed from this initial melody, which serves as the principal theme of our symphony. While in the key of *A*, the theme clearly indicates that the tonalities of *S* and *P* and *M* will not be neglected. With the exception of the L-sound there is not a tonal effect of any importance in the entire poem which is not sounded in this line at the very outset. The L-sound is introduced prominently at the beginning of the second theme:

> At Acme leviter caput reflectens
> Et dulcis pueri ebrios ocellos
> Illo . . . . . .

In a sense, the poem reminds one of a *tonal fugue*; lines 21-24, introducing subject and answer in quick succession, produce the effect of an harmonious *stretto*, which is followed by the usual *pedal* (ll. 25-26). *Auspicatiorem*—to continue the comparison—is the final *cadence*. Every sound (except *L*) that receives any particular stress is

blended harmoniously in this one word with which the composition closes. Or, to put it differently, *auspicatiorem* is a condensed form, a resolution of the essential sound-effects of the theme melody,

Acmen Septimios suos amores,

which it will be noted contains no L-sound. In a word, the symphony appropriately ends on the harmonies with which it began.

It would be tedious and unnecessary to list the seemingly endless examples of symmetry and balance contained in the twenty-six lines of this lyric. Varying sorts of symmetry are combined and intermingled in the texture of the poem. A passing glance can scarcely help but note such assonantal or rhyming effects as *Libya Indiaque tosta* (6), *ebrios ocellos* (11), *Mutuis animis* (20), *amant amantur* (20), *Septimius misellus* (21); the logical balance of words such as *sinistra* (8, 17) and *dextra* (9, 18), *ocellos* (11) and *ore* (12); similarity in the thought of lines, as in 6 and 22, in 14 and 23, in 20-21 and 25-26; expressions evincing symmetry in form and sound and sense, as in *Libya Indiaque* (6), *maior acriorque* (15), *Syrias Britanniasque* (22), *delicias libidinesque* (24), the correspondence of *homines beatiores* (25) with *Venerem auspicatiorem* (26).

But, while symmetry and simplicity are strongly emphasized throughout, there is in evidence here, as one would naturally expect, the same felicity of expression and manner which characterized Catullus elsewhere. The charming picture of Acme leaning back to kiss the swimming eyes of her lover could hardly be painted more graphically or more artistically; line 11 sketches the handsome lad, line 12 the enamored lass. As Ellis suggests in his Commentary (p. 160), "the repetition of the full vowel *o* in *Illo purpureo ore* is no doubt intentional . . .

its effect is heightened by the triple *a* of *saviata*." In line 16, the interfusion of fire and marrow is set off by the interlocking order of the words. Line 21, by the mere order of its words, tells about Septimius what is told about Acme at greater length in ll. 23-24. Septimius (misellus!), in other words, is represented as one surrounded by an atmosphere of love, even as *Septimius misellus* is enclosed by the *Unam* and *Acmen*, the emphatic words in the line. Every thought of poor, lovesick Septimius is centered on Acme alone.

At the very end of the poem, the use of a long, impressive word—a characteristic gesture of Catullus—gives a sense of finality and completeness to the work. But the word here, as is usually the case,[1] is one of outstanding significance in the whole poem. *Auspicatiorem* not only rounds out the lyric (as *adprobationem* does at the end of clear-cut divisions, (ll. 9 and 18), but it also allows the final chords caught by the ear to sound forth again *fortissimo* the principal theme, to emphasize still more clearly the resultant harmony of this emotional experience.

[1]Words of this sort usually stand at the end of comparatively short lyrics: *basiorum* (5), Thyonianus (27), cachinnorum (31), Simonideis (38), vocationes (47), osculationis (48).

IV.

OBDURA: A DRAMATIC MONOLOGUE.

Miser Catulle, desinas ineptire,
Et quod vides perisse perditum ducas.
Fulsere quondam candidi tibi soles,
Cum ventitabas quo puella ducebat
Amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla.
Ibi illa multa tum iocosa fiebant,
Quae tu volebas nec puella nolebat.
Fulsere vere candidi tibi soles.
Nunc iam illa non vult: tu quoque, impotens, noli,
Nec quae fugit sectare, nec miser vive,
Sed obstinata mente perfer, obdura.
Vale, puella! iam Catullus obdurat,
Nec te requiret nec rogabit invitam:
At tu dolebis, cum rogaberis nulla.
Scelesta, vae te! quae tibi manet vita!
Quis nunc te adibit? cui videberis bella?
Quem nunc amabis? cuius esse diceris?
Quem basiabis? cui labella mordebis?
At tu, Catulle, destinatus obdura.

In this eighth lyric of Catullus one overhears the soliloquy of an impetuous, ingenuous youth, a lover vainly attempting to steel himself against love's disdain. It is not the morbid introspection of Hamlet that we have here, nor yet the desperate struggle of that other monologue of Catullus (76) *Si qua recordanti benefacta priora voluptas*. It is rather a refreshingly natural episode in the life of an intensively ardent lad. What went before, or what comes after, matters little. What does matter is the scene actually presented here, this bit of human experience protrayed with so great dramatic fidelity that the reader sees before him the living personality of the poet, rather than the *persona* of an actor strutting his part on the stage.

But whatever the effect on us, the purpose of Catullus in writing the poem must have been to give form and order to a deeply stirring experience. In the midst of his poignant reflection over the vagaries of his love we can imagine him saying to himself again and again, "Obdura", an expression that seems to be the germ from which the whole experience of the poem and its mood spring. Even the meter appears to be traceable to *obdura.* And the word itself, in turn, takes on the character of the idea or concept it represents; for the physiological difficulty experienced in pronouncing *du* after *ob* and the labored movement of the consecutive long syllables give a peculiar appropriateness to a word that has to do with conscious, labored effort in the face of trying circumstances. *Miser Catulle*, while it serves as an excellent initial phrase, represents in reality the resultant mood rather than the origin of that mood, reminding one of the introduction that can only be written after the book has been completed.

It would likely annoy the sensitive, sympathetic reader to be reminded that the meter employed here is Choliambic or Scazon. The Latin is so easy to read, so natural (almost colloquial) in its flow that metrical considerations seem quite unnecessary. That is to say, the mere enunciation of the words as they are made to follow one another in the line produces a pleasurable effect of sound and rhythm that seems independent of any conscious intention on the part of the author to arrange the long and short syllables in accordance with a particular scheme or pattern. But, despite the impression of spontaneity and naturalness, Catullus himself must have given some considerable attention to technical matters of metric. Art, in other words, has apparently succeeded in concealing art in this case.

It is interesting to think of Catullus as hitting upon the Choliambic meter, after he had heard *obdura* ringing insistently in his ears. *Obdura* may be used in this type of verse, and, a thing of far greater importance, may be placed in the emphatic position at the end of a line, in fact at the very end of the poem itself. But the chief advantage the meter holds out is perhaps the possibility of using the final foot for expressions of unusual emphasis. The initial syllable of the final foot, because of the syncopation, holds the position of greatest stress in the line, and, when the accented penult of *obdura* is given this position, the naturally dramatic character of the expression is intensified to an even greater degree. In three verses (11, 12, 19) *obdura* (or *obdurat*) takes advantage of this position; in two other verses (5, 14) the same is true of *nulla*, "a somewhat colloquial and emphatic use for *non*." The three imperfects, *ducebat* (4), *fiebant* (6), and *nolebat* (7), the two uses of *soles* (3, 8), all dwelling on the picture of a pleasant past, need just this sort of position to make them stand out most effectively. The passionate appeal of Catullus to himself in *vive* (10), an essentially similar one to Lesbia in *vita* (15), the significant words, *bella* (16), *diceris* (17), *mordebis* (18), which constitute a climax in the portion of the poem most highly charged with emotion,—all of these seem to be justified in enjoying the same advantage of position and rhythmic punctuation which *obdura* enjoys. So also (*desinas*) *ineptire* (1), (*perditum*) *ducas* (2), (*impotens*) *noli* (9), and (*nec miser*) *vive* (10), which are, after all, merely other ways of saying *obdura*.

The Choliambic (the so-called Limping Iambic)seems ideal for dramatic utterance such as this: the iambic rhythm is suited to impulsive, emotional outbursts and

gestures; the possible variation in the movement of scazons (the substitution of spondees for iambics in the first and third places) is suited to the varying exigencies of the dramatic situation; the absence of a relentlessly regular meter makes it possible to use many a colloquial expression with a degree of naturalness and spontaneity which otherwise it would not have, if indeed it could be used at all. The effect, in a word, is very much like that of *tempo rubato* in music. Certain liberties are taken in order to meet histrionic requirements; slight variations from the norm can reveal the abnormal warmth of emotional experience.

The phrases, *Fulsere quondam* (3), *Cum ventitabas* (4), *Amata nobis* (5), *Quae tu volebas* (7), *Fulsere vere* (8), if they are to be used at all, require a substitution of spondee for iambus, but the variation from the simple iambic movement causes these words to stand out in high relief and indicates the deep feeling with which Catullus dwells on a love that he cannot bare to believe is ended. In the same way a spondaic foot makes *sectare* (10) stand out, with the result that *Nec quae fugit sectare* becomes an emotional as well as logical and formal parallel of *nec miser vive*, both of which are milder forms of *obdura*. As a matter of fact, the statement *Nunc iam illa non vult* is answered by four variants of obdura, which through the use of asyndeton work up impulsively to the emphatic *obdura* itself (9-11):

> tu quoque, impotens, noli,
> Nec quae fugit sectare, nec miser vive,
> Sed obstinata mente perfer, obdura.

The final long syllable of *obstinata* which slows up the regular swing of the iambics emphasizes the difficult struggle that is being enacted on the stage before us, and in addition furnishes an accompaniment of sound and rhythm that is well suited to the thought and mood. In

several verses (notably 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18), the irregularly long syllable of the third foot marks the end of the first of two syntactical divisions which make up the line. Spondees in the first and third feet contribute very largely to the impressiveness of anaphora, symmetry, parallelism, and climax in such lines as 16-18:

> Quis nunc te adibit? cui ———
> Quem nunc amabis? cuius ———
> Quem basiabis? cui ———

The absence of spondees in the first and third feet of line 1 (*Miser Catulle*) and line 12 (*Vale, puella!*) admits of an easy, colloquial manner of expression and betokens the reflective mind of the actor, for the moment in a mood of comparative composure.

The vigorous, dramatic character of this poem reminds one of Browning's dramatic monologues; our title, *Obdura*, in fact, very naturally suggests, *Prospice:*

> Fear death?—to feel the fog in my throat,
> The mist in my face,
> When the snows begin, and the blasts denote
> I am nearing the place,
> The power of the night, the press of the storm,
> The post of the foe.

It is the manner, of course, that we have chiefly in mind in making this comparison. In the case of each there is the short impulsive phrase, the persistent repetition of the same dramatic gesture, the spontaneous out-burst of a mind that apparently has too many thoughts that are clamoring to be expressed. In the case of each a struggle is to be encountered. But, while Catullus keeps saying, *Obdura*, to strengthen his resolution, Browning rushes on with apparent assurance:

> I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
> The best and the last.

What actually happens in this monologue of Catullus can be outlined briefly. The poet's resolve to be indifferent to his *invita puella* in the first two lines serves only to introduce six lines of rapturous reflection on the very love he would abandon. Another attempt to resist her, longer this time (9-13) and more determined, leads again to lines (14-18) that reveal, somewhat naively, how completely he is under her control, how completely—but just at that moment he realizes what he has done and returns abruptly to his initial resolve:

> At tu, Catulle, destinatus obdura.

The upshot of the poem, then, is expressed by the introductory words, *Miser Catulle;* resolution, no matter how insistently voiced, must be just as insistently repeated,—there is no assurance of victory. Determination—weakness—determination—weakness—determination—this is the matter out which the poem is made. But the dramatic force with which these contrasting moods are set forth turns this material into one of the most intensively moving utterances in the entire field of poetic expression. An *allegro ma non troppo* (11. 1-2) leads up to an *andante con molto espressione* (11. 3-8), which is followed by an animated *toccata* for strings (11. 9-13). *At tu* (1. 14), which turns abruptly to thought of Lesbia, suddenly breaks forth into a *finale con intensita crescente* for strings, woodwind, and brass; *At tu, Catulle* (1. 19), just as abruptly turns from the unbridled *stretto* of the previous movement (11. 14-18) to a *coda* (1. 19) for full orchestra punctuated by insistent strokes of percussion instruments, the very insistence of which reveals the absence of genuine finality, —the weakness of a lover and the intensity of a passion that cannot be easily routed.

V.

CATULLUS AND THE MODERNS.

Catullus was a man of many moods. Nor was his song predominantly one of rapturous love, as Tennyson pointedly reminds us when he styles him "Tenderest of Roman poets nineteen hundred years ago." He sounded his dirge over Lesbia's sparrow. He sang his sorrows in tones of silver sadness. And the music that he made has scarcely ever been equalled.

Many poets since his time have essayed to reproduce his moods in translation and adaptation. Prof. E. S. Duckett's *Catullus in English Poetry*,[1] for example, quotes English poets from Skelton to Edna Millay. But it seems doubtful whether material of this kind can be accepted as the measure of Catullus' influence on later poetry. As Mr. G. McN. Rushforth[2] says, in tracing the influence of Roman architecture and art in the world to-day: "In the long run, mere reproduction of ancient forms has nearly always been barren. . . . It was the spirit and not the letter of ancient art that had most influence on the future." So it must have been with the poetry of Catullus. And his influence becomes something that is almost intangible and extremely difficult to define, especially since it is instinctive with the spirit of man to sing the themes which Catullus sang.

But, surely, it is much less interesting and important to count the *milia multa* of passages and poems that can be traced to some ancient source, than it would be to dis-

[1]Smith College Classical Studies, Number 6, Northampton, 1925.
[2]*The Legacy of Rome*, Oxford, 1924.

cover that, centuries after Virgil or Catullus, a new poet raises his voice to sing in strikingly similar strains, and under circumstances too that preclude any possibility of conscious imitation or of a direct influence exerted by the earlier on the later writer. Apparently, similar moods, arising from similar stimuli, can produce results that reveal an almost startling kinship. But the similarity is not the sort that causes the one poem to suggest the other. It is rather that which appears only after each has independently made its own impression on the mind. Each, in fact, has its own *raison d'etre*. Each stands on its own legs. But the emotional response is almost identical. This, at all events, is the relation that we would point between Catullus and the Moderns.

In the very nature of the case, our venture demands a careful comparison of poem with poem, passage with passage,—obviously a study of widely extended scope. In this present discussion, however, we shall confine our attention to a single mood of Catullus, that of tenderness, and endeavor to show that in the poetry of one of the Moderns, Mr. David Morton,[3] a kindred spirit responds to the siren charm of this self-same mood, a mood which, by the way, seems to be the prevailing one in Mr. Morton's verse. The poems that are to be considered here owe nothing directly to Catullus, although, as Gilbert Murray[4] reminds us, the influence of the classical tradition can hardly be eliminated in a case of this kind.

In Catullus, passionate intensity of feeling and spontaneity of expression are responsible for a sort of lyric utterance that seems to spring directly from his life.

[3]Mr. Morton is author of four volumes, all published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London: *Ships in Harbour*, 1921; *Harvest*, 1924; *The Sonnet To-day—and Yesterday*, 1926; *Nocturnes and Autumnals*, 1928.

[4]*The Classical Tradition in Poetry*, Harvard University Press, 1927.

And in comparing his poetry with that of any of the Moderns one would naturally expect the phrase, *recollected in tranquillity*, to be more applicable to the latter. It is in delicacy and fineness of sentiment that Catullus comes closest to the Moderns, as in 11, 21-24:

> Nec meum respectet, ut ante, amorem,
> Qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati
> Ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam
> Tactus aratro est.

With somewhat the same gesture of tenderness, although the content is noticeably different, Mr. Morton sings:

> As you would speak of flowers, speak so of her:
> For she was young and lovely and adored,
> Too frail a chalice, brimming and astir
> Where time's long sweets and wonderments were poured.
> So say no names at all of flesh and blood,
> And tell no tale of sickness or distress,—
> Only how light and colour's turbulent flood
> Was here a poised and captive loveliness.
>
> And let there be a legend in this place,
> Of one who came . . . and passed . . . and was no more
> Than a remembered fragrance and a face,
> A flower-like body swaying through a door
> That closed forever on one radiant hour
> Whose passing was the passing of a flower.

So (as you would speak of flowers) Catullus speaks of Vinia in 61. 21-25:

> Floridis velut enitens
> Myrtus Asia ramulis,
> Quos hamadryades deae
> Ludicrum sibi rosido
> Nutriunt umore.

Also in 61. 91-93:

Talis in vario solet
Divitis domini hortulo
Stare flos hyacinthinus.

Again in 61. 192-195:

Uxor in thalamo tibi est
Ore floridulo nitens
Alba parthenice velut
Luteumve papaver.

So he speaks of Ariadne in 64. 89-90:

Quales Eurotae progignunt flumina myrtos
Aurave distinctos educit verna colores.

In 61. 57 he uses *floridam puellulam;* in 17. 14:

Cui cum sit viridissimo nupta flore puella—
Et puella tenellulo delicatior haedo.

And finally, in the much imitated passage, 62. 39-47:

Ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis,
Ignotus pecori, nullo convulsus aratro,
Quen mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber,
Multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae;
Idem cum tenui carptus defloruit ungui,
Nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:
Sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis est;
Cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem,
Nec pueris incunda manet nec cara puellis.

Now in quoting Mr. Morton's "Invasion" in connection with these passages from Catullus, we have in mind not a similarity of subject-matter so much as a similarity of mood, of temperament, of sensitiveness.

Here once a timid lady bore heart
  Among tall flowers along these careful ways,
And in this plotted garden, walled apart,
  Ended as carefully her sheltered days.
And never in the sun or wind, they say,
  But always when the dusk was dim and cool,

She came among these things, as cool as they,
As delicate and frail—and beautiful.

Life came no nearer to this lady's ears
Than rumorous streets that ran beyond the wall;
And the long winds went over, and the years,
And left no tale to tell of her, at all,—
Until a Stranger entered at the gate . . .
Now, weeds have pierced the paving stones, of
late.

Much the same note is sounded in his sonnet on a girl's school:

These walls will not forget through later days,
How they had bloomed with lifted, tossing heads
Of swaying girls who thronged these ordered ways
Like windy tulips blowing in their beds.
Stones may remember laughter down a hall,
And eyes more bright than blossoms in the grass,—
A dream to haunt them—after all and all—
When they are dust with dusty things that pass.

Likewise in the lines:

A sweetness that was ancient flower and face,
When wine-red poppies stained the walls of Rome,
And daisies starred those summer fields of Thrace.

Something survives and haunts the leafy shade,
Some fragrance that was petals, once, and lips,
And whispered, brief avowals that they made,—
Borne hither, now, in vague, invisible ships,
Whose weightless cargoes, poured upon the air,
Are flowers forgot, and faces that were fair.

Or in the single line:

Remembering her . . . as white flame . . . or a flower.

Most assuredly, it is the quintessence of tenderness that appears in Catullus 3:

Lugete, o Veneres Cupidinesque
Et quantum est hominum venustiorum!

Passer mortuus est meae puellae,
Passer, deliciae meae puellae,
Quem plus illa oculis suis amabat;
Nam mellitus erat, suamque norat
Ipsa tam bene quam puella matrem,
Nec sese a gremio illius movebat,
Sed circumsiliens modo huc modo illuc
Ad solam dominam usque pipiabat.
Qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum
Illuc unde negant redire quemquam.
At vobis male sit, malae tenebrae
Orci, quae omnia bella devoratis;
Tam bellum mihi passerem abstulistis,
O factum male! io miselle passer!
Tua nunc opera meae puellae
Flendo turgiduli rubent ocelli.

To compare with this lament Mr. Morton's sonnet, *On a Dead Moth*, would immediately convey the impression that in doing so our sole purpose was to make the obvious but unimportant observation that both poems deal with the death of a tiny creature, the one a dead sparrow, the other a dead moth. But, as a matter of fact, the poems are far from being identical in what is said. It is in what is felt that all the likeness lies. Catullus would find a nature attuned to his own in the lines:

Who knows what trouble trembled in that throat,
  What sweet distraction for the summer moon,
That lured you, out, a frail, careering boat,
  Across the midnight's purple, deep lagoon!
Some fire of madness lit that tiny brain,
  Some soft propulsion clouded through your breast,
And lifted you, a white and moving stain
  Against the dark of that disastrous quest.

The sadness of all brief and lovely things,
  The fine and futile passions that we bear,
Haunt the bright wreck of your too fragile wings,

And win a pity for you, ended there,—
Like us, hurled backward to the final shade,
From mad adventures for a moon or maid.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Morton uses the sonnet form here. The poem of Catullus (3), to quote Mr. J. Wight Duff, "produces almost the impression of a sonnet." Mr. Morton, at all events, seems to catch the same mood in another sonnet, For Bob: a Dog (In Memoriam):

You, who would never leave us to our sleeping,
But ever nosed us out of bed to play,
How can we ever think of you as keeping
So strangely still, as stirless as the clay?
We cannot think you dead to games and laughter;
Surely in some bright place beyond the sun,
Girls race and play, and you go racing after,
And lie across their feet when games are done.

Who knows, but in our separate times and places
When we have slept the last, last sleep away,
You yet may come, your nose against our faces,
And wake us to our bright, immortal play.
And if you startle us with rude surprise,
You'll beg—and win—forgiveness with those eyes.

In still another sonnet he writes:

These butterflies that drift above the lawn
Are frail and lovely women.

But in all these cases we are interested not so much in that which elicits the poet's sympathy (whether it be sparrow or moth or dog or butterfly) as in the resultant note of pity and gentleness. The subject, in fact, may differ widely, as in *Rendezvous:*

. . . So she came back to you and me,
She who had been the lovely third . . .
A little blue ghost in time for tea;

Smiling and grave and with no word
Of how things fare with such as she,
But suddenly lonely when she heard,

In that still place, the fragile clink
Of tea cups, and her own dear name,
'Twas like her to be touched, I think,

With smiling pity for you and me;—
So, in a breathless haste, she came,
A little, blue ghost in time for tea.

Mr. Morton's song of sorrow, however, is not confined to individuals. His "Lugete" is struck for the whole world, the world in its autumn mood.

These thin, soft rains of Autumn fall like tears,
  Staining the earth as tears a woman's face:
Here are the griefs of all the sorrowing years,
  That find no balm in any time or place.
These fields that had been happy in the sun.
  And wide and beautiful with evening light,
Are grey with sullen rain,—and one by one,
  Frail, stricken leaves are falling through the night.

How does the heart take home such things as these!—
  Holding the blinded fields, the wet grey wall,
The twilight and the thin rain in the trees,—
  So intimately near that, all in all,
The whole world seems most like ourselves for grief:
Tears in the rain, woe in the stricken leaf.

The mood recurs in *Stoics:*

All day the hills were beat upon by rains;
  Now, when they grow too dim for eyes to mark,
Their strong and grieving loneliness remains,
  Haunting the empty reaches of the dark.
Gone is the blurring softness of the leaf,
  And gone the pitying tenderness of light:—

Lone in the dark, their graven strength and grief
  Suffer and stand beneath the rain and night.
Where once the summer trembled in the cries
  Of calling birds and in the greening slopes,
Are stark and stricken boughs and pouring skies;—
  And thought itself is lost and dumbly gropes
Out through the dark to seek the hills in vain
  Blinded with grieving loneliness and rain.

And also in *This Autumn Mood:*

The Autumn mood takes all the earth and sky,
  Grieving for old things beautiful and brief,
Dreaming of loveliness gone lately by,
  Of Earth's old Summers in the fallen leaf.

Both Catullus and our modern poet, it is clear, are given to grieving for the "beautiful and brief." But while Catullus cries with intense feeling:

At vobis male sit, malae tenebrae
Orci, quae omnia bella devoratis:
Tam bellum mihi passerem abstulistis,

Mr. Morton is much more resigned to beauty's passing; for he can say of the queen that

she was right
To go the way of brief and lovely things;
Old, haunted twilights are the fate of kings.

As a matter of fact, in his jovial characterization of Autumn, Mr. Morton gives an insight into one phase of his own nature:

He loves his griefs and broken sighs,
  His sorrows of a thousand years,—
  And thinks we do not know those tears
Are wood-smoke in his eyes.

If leaves go by us in a gust,
  He needs must clutch his heart, and say:
  "Alas" or else "Alack-a-day"—
And thinks we take it all on trust.

So sad and sad a rake he is!—
And yet so glad of being sad,
Knowing no fellow ever had
Such fine, becoming griefs as his.

But while he cajoles and smiles on the surface, an undercurrent of seriousness and sincerity runs through all his song, a sincerity and genuineness such as appear in his lines on an old gardener:

And yet, he is so tender of it all,
So wise and kind in ways of leaf and sod,
Sometimes I think him very like to God.

A few quotations may serve to indicate further how attractive a theme the sadness of beauty's passing is to Mr. Morton.

Vanishings:

They are more pallid than the hands and brow
Of one well-loved, and briefer yet than these,
Wasting for darkness, passing even now,
Like moon-moths that were light among the trees. . .
Only their beauty's passing may endure
For us who had no nets to make them sure.

The Year is Old:

Day fades with fading colours from the sky,
And blue smoke blowing where the hills are gold,
Is all a tale of loveliness gone by:
Summer is ended, and the year is old,
Beauty and bloom are wet leaves in the grass,
And music is a lone wind on the hill,
Crying that all things beautiful must pass,
Crying that beauty is remembered still.

A King of Egypt:

Music . . . and heartbreak . . . and a name to say
Of one who somehow touched his youth with dream,
And passed, another leaf upon the stream.

Salvage:

Since we have learned how beauty comes and goes:
  A phantom fading from the hills like light,
Summer and slow disaster in the rose,
  An April face that wanders toward the night,—
It is not strange that we who linger here,
  Are haunted by the colours of the sky,
The ghost of beauty in the stricken year,
  The thought of beauty gone too swiftly by.

So that men strive with chisel, pen and brush,
  To save the lifted brow, the transient spring,
Happy if they may fix the fading blush,
  Or make the mood a memorable thing,
And snare one glowing hour from fleeting time,
  A golden bird, caged in a golden rhyme.

When Mr. Morton conceived of ships as remembering their previous existence as trees of the forest, he had no idea that Catullus had previously played with the same fancy in Ode 4:

Phasellus ille, quem videtis, hospites,
Ait fuisse navium celerrimus,
Neque ullius natantis impetum trabis
Nequisse praeterire, sive palmulis
Opus foret volare sive linteo.
Et hoc negat minacis Hadriatici
Negare litus insulasve Cycladas
Rhodumque nobilem horridamque Thraciam
Propontida trucemve Ponticum sinum,
Ubi iste post phasellus antea fuit
Comata silva: nam Cytorio in iugo
Loquente saepe sibilum edidit coma.
Amastri Pontica et Cytore buxifer,
Tibi haec fuisse et esse cognitissima
Ait phasellus; ultima ex origine
Tuo stetisse dicit in cacumine
Tuo imbuisse palmulas in aequore,

Et inde tot per impotentia freta
Erum tulisse, laeva sive dextera
Vocaret aura, sive utrumque Iuppiter
Simul secundus incidisset in pedem;
Neque ulla vota litoralibus diis
Sibi esse facta, cum veniret a mari
Novissimo hunc ad usque limpidum lacum.
Sed haec prius fuere: nunc recondita
Senet quiete seque dedicat tibi,
Gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris.

Mr. Morton's fondness for ships can be seen in the fact that his first volume of verse was given the title, *Ships in Harbour*. Again and again he holds communion with them. They speak to him, and he understands, even as Catullus understands his *phasellus*. The following selections are very much in the Catullan manner:

Wooden Ships:

They are remembering forests where they grew,—
  The midnight quiet, and the giant dance;
And all the murmuring summers that they knew
  Are haunting still their altered circumstance.
Leaves they have lost, and robins in the nest,
  Tug of goodly earth denied to ships,
These, and the rooted certainties, and rest,—
  To gain a watery girdle at the hips.

Only the wind that follows ever aft,
  They greet not as a stranger on their ways—
But this old friend, with whom they drank and laughed,
  Sits in the stern and talks of other days
When they had held high bacchanalias still,
Or dreamed among the stars on some tall hill.

Old Ships:

There is a memory stays upon old ships
  A weightless cargo in the musty hold,—

Of bright lagoons and prow-caressing lips,
  Of stormy midnights,—and a tale untold.
They have remembered islands in the dawn,
  And windy capes that tried their slender spars,
The tortuous channels where their keels have gone
  And calm, blue nights of stillness and the stars.
Ah, never think that ships forget a shore,
Or bitter seas, or winds that made them wise.

Leviathans:

Let never word of pity pass your lips:
  For these were proud in ways you cannot know,
And pride is slow to die in ruined ships
  Who can but dream. . . .

Ships in Harbour:

I have not known a quieter thing than ships,
  Nor any dreamers steeped in dream as these,
  For all that they have tracked disastrous seas,
And winds that left their sails in flagging strips;
Nothing disturbs them now, no stormy grips
  That once had hurt their sides, no crash or swell
  Nor can the fretful harbour quite dispel
This quiet that they learned on lonely trips.

They have no part in all the noisy noons;
  They are become as dreams of ships that go
  Back to the secret waters that they know,
Each as she will to unforgot lagoons,
  Where nothing moves except the ghostly spars
  That mark the patient watches on the stars.

And now in conclusion we would cite one more instance of striking coincidence. The quotation of these two poems will suffice to make clear the kinship they bear to one another in spirit.

Catullus 51:

Ille mi par esse deo videtur,
Ille, si fas est, superare divos
Qui sedens adversus identidem te
    Spectat et audit.

Dulce ridentem, misero quod omnis
Eripit sensus mihi: nam simul te,
Lesbia, adspexi, nihil est super mi
Vocis in ore.

Lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus
Flamma demanat, sonitu suopte
Tintinant aures, gemina teguntur
    Lumina nocte.

David Morton, *Inviolate:*

I would be dumb before the evening star,
  And no light word should stir upon my lips
For autumn dusks where dying embers are
  For evening seas and slow returning ships.
I would be hushed before the face I love,
  Rising in star-like quiet close to mine,
Lest all the beauty thought is dreaming of
  Be rudely shaken and be spilled like wine.

For present loveliness there is no speech,
  A word may wrong a flower or a face,
And stars that swim beyong our stuttering reach
  Are safer in some golden, silent place . . .
Only when these are broken, or pass by,
Wonder and worship speak . . . or sing . . . or cry.

With Catullus, of course, the mood is one he can't help feeling; with Mr. Morton, it is deliberately chosen and found to be pleasing in retrospect.

Was David Morton indirectly influenced by Catullus? Who knows? Who could presume to say? How fruitless a task it would be to count (a method that has appealed

to some) the number of times the words, *Catullus*, *Lesbia*, *sparrow*, and Sirmio, occur in any of the modern writers! But it is gladdening to realize that the *spirit* of Catullus has reached across the centuries and has found a welcome among the poets of to-day. For Mr. Morton, as many are aware, is not the only poet now living whose heart beats in sympathy with the bard of Sirmio. We have selected him because the absence of direct influence of any kind in his case makes the coincidences, i.e., the coincidences of mood and feeling cited above, all the more surprising and significant.

VI.

BARINE'S PORTRAIT.

Barine's Portrait: Horace, Carmina 2.8

Ulla si iuris tibi peierati
Poena, Barine, nocuisset umquam,
Dente si nigro fieres vel uno
  Turpior ungui,

Crederem. Sed tu simul obligasti
Perfidum votis caput, enitescis
Pulchrior multo iuvenumque prodis
  Publica cura.

Expedit matris cineres opertos
Fallere et toto taciturna noctis
Signa cum caelo gelidaque divos
  Morte carentis.

Ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa; rident
Simplices Nymphae ferus et Cupido,
Semper ardentis acuens sagittas
  Cote cruenta.

Adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
Servitus crescit nova, nec priores
Impiae tectum dominae relinquont,
  Saepe minati.

Te suis matres metuont iuvencis,
Te senes parci miseraeque, nuper
Virgines, nuptae, tua ne retardet
  Aura maritos.

The coquette, always an alluring subject for artists, has scarcely ever been painted with such exquisite art as

that with which Horace (Carmina 2.8) sets forth the scintillating charm of baleful Barine.

The picture as presented in the first strophe is sketched in thorough-going fashion; little, if anything, is left to add. Barine is faithless, her beauty untarnished. That her perjury has never been punished could not be phrased more emphatically. That she has not become one wit less beautiful is just as emphatically stressed. The emphasis is appreciably heightened by the artistic balance which the quasi-chiastic order of *Ulla* . . . *umquam* (1-2) and *dente* . . . *ungui* (3-4) gives to the pattern of the whole stanza: *dente si* after *Ulla si* is, of course, melodically as well as logically felicitous.

But the striking feature about the ode is that each succeeding strophe makes a decided advance on the preceeding, when apparently all has been said that can be said. Barine, though faithless, not only continues fair, but shines forth more beautiful than ever the moment she pledges her *perfidum votis caput* (6). The words *enitescis pulchrior multo* (7-8) in reality form a climax: *pulchrior* intensifies *enitescis* as *multo* intensifies *pulchrior*. Apart from the meaning of the words or their context, the alliteration in *perfidum*, *pulchrior*, *prodis*, *publica* intensifies the tone of disgust and disapproval (three of these words stand at the beginnings of verses, 6, 7, and 8). Surely there is *felicitas* here, whether *curiosa* or not.

Expedit, beginning the third stanza, serves as an emphatic repetition of the thought in verses 5-8. "Yes," Horace says, "it actually profits you to swear falsely. But your license knows no limit. You swear falsely by all that is most sacred on earth or in heaven." The clarity, however, with which the thought is expressed seems due mainly to the order and arrangement of words. The word *fallere*,

which ends its phrase and begins a verse, stands in emphatic contrast (both logical and metrical) with *Expedit; matris*, the significant word in the expression *matris cineres opertos*, naturally comes first. The starry firmament is graphically represented by the words *toto taciturna noctis signa cum caelo*, in which the position of *taciturna noctis signa* between *toto* and *cum caelo* suggests the logical association of stars and sky. Likewise, the interlocked form of *gelidaque divos morte carentis* gives us a poetical equivalent for "the death, less gods". The recurrence of *t-* and *c-* sounds in the stanza, while it contributes to the musical effect, has, apparently, no significance other than that of giving unity to the passage.

Stanza four refers back to stanza three with the word *hoc*, but goes beyond the thought of that stanza. Not only does it profit Barine to break the most sacred pledges, but Venus herself and Cupid, the very last gods who should countenance *peiuria amantum*, actually laugh at her vows forsworn. The emphatic way in which this prodigious thing is stated needs little comment. The very order of the words is eloquent. But the music of a strophe such as this would in itself justify the existence of the strophe. It matters little how much *limae labor* has made Horace *numerosus* in this instance. There is no mistaking the effect of his art, whether or not one understands the technique which produced it. A type of artistic balance is present in each verse: mark the position of *ridet* and *rident* in 13, the parallelism of *simplices Nymphae* and *ferus et Cupido* in 14, the chiastic arrangement of alliterative words (*semper ardentis acuens sagittas*) in 15, the alliteration of *cote* and *cruenta* in 16.

Adde quod (17) expresses in almost prosaic form the force which, we have seen, is implied in the foregoing

strophes. Not only does Venus laugh at Barine's perjury, but the lovers themselves, all of them, young and old, submit to this deception, content, despite their threats, to remain in thraldom. The significant juxtaposition of *pubes* and *tibi* (17), of *priores* and *impiae* (18-19), the impatient repetition of *crescit* (17, 18), the emphatic position of *omnis* and *servitus*, the pointed as well as euphonious grouping of the words *nova*, *nec priores*, the sarcastic humor of *reliquont* following *dominae* (slaves abandon their mistress!), the human touch in *impiae* and *saepe minati*, the alliteration involving *m*-sounds in 19-20, which emphasizes the suggestion of murmuring discontent conveyed by the words, are some of the strokes with which the picture of this surprising spectacle is drawn.

When Horace arrives at the final strophe, he has passed (in a bantering, jovial spirit) all the way from denunciation to what is almost a paean of praise, very much as he does in Carmina 1. 37, where Cleopatra, the *fatale monstrum* of verse 21, becomes *non humilis mulier* in the final verse (32). The words *te* (21), *te* (22), *tua* (23) indicate the emotional intensity at this culminating point in the portrayal of Barine: "In fear and dread of you, all people stand, *matres*, *senes*, *nuptae* (it is not the lovers alone who suffer)". Even the arrangement of the words contributes to the mood of the stanza—the position of *suis* between *te* and *matres*, the emphatic position of *tua* preceding *ne* and standing apart from its noun, and the juxtaposition of *aura* and *maritos*. But, if analysis were necessary here, it might be more fitting to comment on the artistic form, which reminds one of musical sequences (*te suis matres* followed by *te senes parci*) moving on to a logical climax (*miseraeque . . . tua . . . maritos*). Verses such as these (21-24), however, need only be read.

VII.

CURIOSA FELICITAS.

That the arrangement of words contributed much to Horace's *curiosa felicitas*, few shcolars seem to have noted. Many fail to mention word-order at all, while those who do discuss it are conspicuous not so much for their Horatian scholarship as for their fine appreciation of classical poetry. Prof. E. E. Sikes[1], for example, makes the assertion (with Horace in mind) that the Romans "were above all things concerned with lucid order (logical synthesis of words) . . . euphonic order (producing beauty by verbal juxtaposition)." Prof. Gilbert Murray[2] does not hesitate to claim for Horace that "beauty of form has made him immortal, and (that) fully half of that beauty lies in the order of his words." But men such as these belong to the select few who realize that poetry must serve as its own medium, that artistic form can never be disregarded by those who would appreciate poetry, to the full.

In his edition of the *Odes*,[3] Prof. Naylor develops the thesis that departure from the normal order is designed to secure emphasis. His conclusions, however, are suggestive and interesting rather than satisfying. He demonstrates admirably all he sets out to prove and more, but does not, of course, essay to consider all the factors that make for felicitous verse-structure in the *Odes*.

[1]Roman Poetry, London, 1923, p. 254.

[2]*The Classical Tradition in Poetry*, Harvard University Press, 1927, p. 170.

[3]Cambridge University Press, 1922.

The frequent recurrence of certain types of word-order naturally invites an investigation into the possible significance that any of these types may have.

Especially effective is the juxtaposition of words referring to lovers. What could bring out more emphatically this close relationship of love (especially when the whole thought of the sentence or of the ode centers around this relationship) than to hear the lovers named in close succession, the one after the other? In the first line of Od. I 13, *Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi*, we have epitomized with clarity and emphasis the theme of the whole poem. Here, however, the addition of *tu* to *Lydia, Telephi* completes the human triangle, since *tu* is obviously used to refer to the poet's relation with Lydia. Other examples of this significant arrangement are *te puer* (I. 5.1), *Helenen perfidus* (I 15.2), *suspecta Cyrum* (I 17.25), *Me tuo* (I 25.7), *maechos anus* (I 25.9), *Quae te* (I 27.14), Lycordia Cyri (I 33.5-6), *te* (Venus) Iuventas (I 30.7), *ancillae tibi* (II 4.1), *insolentem serva Briseis* (II 4.2-3), *dominum* (Ajax) *Tecmessae* (II 4.6), *illam tibi* (II 4.18), *pubes tibi* (II 8.17), *priores impiae* (II 8, 18-19), *Te suis* (II 8.21), *aura maritos* (II 8.24), *quem tibi* (III 7.1), *miseram tuis* (III 7.9), *Proetum mulier* (III 7.13), *vir Pieria paelice* (III 10.15), *Neobule, Liparaei nitor Hebri* (III 12.5-6), *Faune, Nympharum* (III 18.1), *vicina seni* (III 19.24), *tibi praeda* (III 20.7), *nostri, Galatea* (III 27.14). The relation of husband and wife appears in the phrases, *coniuge me Iovis* (III 3.64), *virgine pontifex* (III 30.9), *uxores mariti* (I 17.7); other relations of love in *tecum puer* (I 30.5), *suis matres* (II 8.21), *functus amabilem* (II 9.13), *Antilochum senex* (II 9.14), *parentes Troilon* (II 9, 15-16) *te mecum* (II 6.21), *mihi te* (II 17.2), *te meae* (II 17.5). Words referring to persons separated are frequently separated and placed in emphatic positions, especially when strong emotion

is present in one of the parties concerned. So *Albi* and *immitis Glycerae* (I 33.1-2), *Tu* and *Mysten* (II 9.9-10), *tibi* and *Enipeus* (III 7.22-23), *Danaen* and *adulteris* (III 16.1-4), *Chloe* and *me* (I 23.1), *me* and *populo* (I 1.30-32), *te* and *ulla* (II 14.23-24).

An elaborate interweaving of words can usually be found to have significance, as, for example, when the all-compelling power of love is made to stand out in this way. In the words, *Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa* (I 5.1), the phrase *Quis gracilis puer* is interrupted by *multa*, *te*, and *in rosa*, thereby giving unity to the line and emphasizing the irresistable charm of the *gracilis puer*. A Roman listening to the verse would hear him referred to in every other word. In this verse at least the spot-light is on the slender youth. He dominates the picture. With this example can be grouped *Quae te cumque domat Venus* (I 27.14), *vocantis ture te* (Venus) *multo Glycerae* (I 30.2-3), *Movit Aiacem Telamone natum forma captivae dominum Tecmessae* (II 4.5-6), *me lentus Glycerae torret amor meae* (III 19.28).

Interweaving of words seems appropriate for intermingling bands of dancing Nymphs and Graces: *Nymharumque leves cum Satyris chori* (I 1.31); *iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes* (I 4.6); *solutis Gratiae zonis properentque Numphae* (I 30.5-6); *Gratia nudis iuncta sororibus* (III 19. 16-17); *Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet ducere nuda choros* (IV 7.5-6). Somewhat analogous are *Quem si puellarum inseres choro* (II 5.21) and *sic potenti Iustitiae placitumque Parcis* (II 17.15).

A more or less intricate interlocking of words or phrases is especially apt when the thought has to do with close interrelation, intermixture, or bond of any kind, literal or figurative. Thus we have *Vix inligatum te triformi Pegasus expediet Chimaera* (I 27.23-24); *ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis*

dormirem et ursis (III 4.17-18); *nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro vincula Pirithoo* (IV 7.27-28); *Me doctarum hederae praemia frontium dis miscent superis, me* (I 1.29-30); *Apollinis insignemque pharetra fraternaque umerum lyra* (I 21. 10-12); *tribus aut novem miscentur cyathis pocula commodis* (III 19.11-12); *proelia virginum sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium* (I 6.17-18); *acer et Mauri peditis cruentum voltus in hostem* (I 2.39); *noctes non sine multis insomnis lacrimis agit* (III 7.7-8).

There is an apparent advantage in the juxtaposition of words referring to persons or things which in the thought of the sentence are pointedly referred to as having some close connection. They will be thought of together if the words are heard together, for in Latin the words can be made to register logically just as the sentence proceeds. Ofttimes this arrangement is graphically significant, as in *lituo tubae* (I 1.23), *me lyricis vatibus* (I 1.35), *sidera vertice* (I 1.36), *aequora ventis* (I 5.7), *Orphea silvae* (I 12.8), *fulmina lucis* (I 12.60), *dente labris* (I 13.12), *coronam crinibus* (I 17.27-28), *ianua limen* (I 25.4), *lacrima favillam* (II 6.23), *fulgura montis* (II 10.12), *dies die* (II 18.15), *cruribus asperae pelles*, (II 20.10), *Britannis imperio* (III 5.3-4), *pacem duello* (III 5.38), *gramina campis* (IV 7.1), *arboribus comae* (IV 7.2).

The juxtaposition of contrasting words represents only a slight variation from the preceding type. Examples are *partem solido* (I 1.20), *fragilem truci* (I 3.10), *tenues grandia* (I 6.9), *virenti canities* (I 9.17), *dulcia barbare* (I 13.14), *dispari incontinentis* (I 17.25-26), *laetitia moriture* (II 3.4), *serius ocius* (II 3.26), *amor pudori* (II 4.1), *insolentem serva* (II 4.2-3), *captivae dominum* (II 4.6), *fessis leviora* (II 4.11), *purpureo varius* (II 5.12), *sagacis falleret* (II 5.22), *discrimen obscurum* (II 5.23), *surgente decedunt* (II 9.11), *amaro lento* (II 16.26), *abstulit clarum* (II 16.29), *minuit* senectus (*II*

16.30), *Medo Marsus* (III 5.9), *credidit hostibus* (III 5.32,), *pacem duello* (III 5.38), *dis te* (III 6.5), *perfida credulum* (III 7.13), *digna periurum* (III 11.34), *splendide mendax* (III 11.35), *dulci mala* (III 12.1-2), *poti vetulam* (III 15.15), *gaudet invisam* (III 18.15), *pepulisse fossor* (III 18.15). Two contrasting phrases, made symmetrical by alliteration, are juxtaposed in the line,

mercator metuens otium et oppidi.

A word frequently intensifies or clarifies or modifies the force of an adjoining word with which it has no grammatical connection, as in the grouping *aquae lene* (I 1.22), *caput sacrae* (I 1.22), *frigido venator* (I 1.25-26) *Me doctarum* (I 1.29), *mutata iuvenem* (I 2.41), *ignem aetheria* (I 3.29), *iracunda Iovem* (I 3.40), *gravis Cyclopum* (I 4.7), *nigris aequora* (I 5.7), *immodicae mero* (I 13.10), *Helenen perfidus* (I 15.2), *virides rubum* (I 23.6), *sequi viro* (I 23.12), *solo levis* (I 25.9), *Glycerae decoram* (I 30.3), *regina dementis* (I 37.7), *leporem citus* (I 37.18), *campis nivalis* (I 37.19), *atrum corpore* (I 37.27-28), *superbo non humilis* (I 37, 31-32), *flores amoenae* (II 3.14), *racemos purpureo* (II 5, 11-12), *tibi peierati* (II 8.1), *perfidum votis* (II 8.6), *rapidum fugiente* (II 9.12), *Caecuba dignior* (II 14.25), *ego perfidum* (II 17, 9), *tibi somnus* (III 11.38), *desine funeri* (III 15, 4), *poti vetulam* (III 15, 16), *vetulam faece* (III 15, 16), *vacat otioso* (III 18, 11), *tacita fistula* (III 19, 20), *celeres reparant* (IV 7.13), *reparant caelestia* (IV 7.13), *splendida Minos* (IV 7.21), *Diana pudicum* (IV 7.25).

Words that normally stand together, such as an adjective and its noun or two parts of a prepositional phrase, are often separated so as to admit between them a word or expression which bears some logical, though not necessarily grammatical, relation to the enclosing words, which in turn represent the limits within which the

force of the enclosed words applies. That is to say, the enclosing words may designate the actual place within the boundaries of which an action takes place, as when the words *in umbrosis* and *lucis* enclose the expression *Fauno decet immolare* (I 4.11), or *in patenti* and *Aegaeo* enclose *prensus* (II 16.1-2). Or again, an arrangement of this type may represent graphically persons or things surrounded or hemmed in by others, as when *cerva* is enclosed by *catulis* and *fidelibus* in the words *catulis cerva fidelibus* (I 1.27), or *Marsus aper* by *teretes* and *plagas* in *teretes Marsus aper plagas* (I 1.28). Examples abound, although the "limits" cannot always be taken so literally as in the cases cited. Our list includes *patrios findere sarculo agros* (I 1.14), *solido demere de die* (I 1.20), *viridi membra sub arbuto* (I 1.21), *viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto* (I 4.9), *multa gracilis te puer in rosa* (I 5.1), *grato Pyrrha sub antro* (I 5.3), *Martialis haediliae lupos* (I 17.9), *benigno ruris honorum opulenta cornu* (I 17, 15-16), *variis obsita frondibus* (I 18.12), *per Syrtis iter aestuosas* (I 22.5), *silva lupus in Sabina* (I 22.9), *quanta laborabas Charybdi* (I 27.19), *Apulis iungentur capreae lupis* (I 33.7-8), *in udo ludere cum vitulis salicto* (II 5.7-8), *Ille te mecum locus* (II 6.21), *nitentis malabathro Syrio capillos* (II 7.7-8), *denso paventem sustulit aere* (II 7.14), *capacibus unguenta de conchis* (II 7.22), *exiguis equitare campis* (II 9.24), *nec tenui ferar penna* (II 20.1-2), *Stygia cohibebor unda* (II 20.8), *sub isdem sit trabibus* (III 2.27-28), *fragilemque mecum solvat phaselon* (III 2.28-29), *pios errare per lucos* (III 4.6-7), *in arduos tollor Sabinos* (III 4.21-22), *Pierio recreatis antro* (III 4.40), *impositam celer ignis Aetnen* (III 4.76), *Tusco denatat alveo* (III 7.28), *inter pulchra satum tecta* (III 10.6), *latis equa trima campis* (III 11.9), *nanctae vitulos leaenae* (III 11.41), *inter ludere virgines* (III 15, 5), *stellis nebulam spargere candidis* (III 15.6), *per medios*

ire satellites (III 16.9), *Laestrygonia Bacchus in amphora* (III 16.34), *Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei campis* (III 16.41), *Veneris sodali vina craterae* (III 18.6-7), *inter audaces lupus errat agnos* (II 18, 13), *ab agro rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino* (III 27.2-3), *inter errem nuda leones.*

Sometimes the enclosing words in this same sort of arrangement represent figurative "limits", as in *moechos anus arrogantis* (I 25.9), which pictures the lonely hag enveloped in an atmosphere of lovers' disdain; or in (*tradidit*) *fessis leviora tolli Pergama Grais* (II 4.11-12); *nobilium tu quoque fontium* (III 13.13): *Acrisium virginis abditae custoden* (III 16.5). Sometimes the arrangement seems to accomplish little more than to emphasize the enclosing words as the significant part of the expression. So in *Luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum* (I 1.15); *turpi Pholae peccet adultero* (I 33.9); *vir Pieria paelice saucius* (III 10.15); *in omne virgo nobilis aevom* (III 11.35). Compare I 3.8, I 12.9-10, I 12.11-12, I 12.57, II 7.27-28, II 8.21, II 13.38, II 17.3-4, II 17.5, II 20.11-12, III 2.32, III 3.6, III 5.33, III 5.34, III 7.13, III 16.17, III 16.33, III 19.25, III 27.75-76.

When a noun and its adjective enclose or are enclosed by a prepositional cum-phrase, a close logical relation is seen to exist between the expressions thus connected. This arrangement is employed effectively in *avitus apto cum lare fundus* (I 12.43-44); *Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa* (I 18.8); *Saeva tene cum Berecyntio cornu tympana* (I 18.13-14); *toto taciturna noctis signa cum caelo* (II 8.10-11); *festus in pratis vacat otioso cum bove pagus* (III 18.11-12); *tacita fistula cum lyra* (III 9.20).

The editors usually take note of interlocked order. But what significance can this grouping have? A single chain is formed when individual links are joined. And a certain unity results when individual words are interlocked. But

there is more than unity here. The effect is much like that produced in a mosaic by the careful selection and arrangement of the differently colored pieces. A poet, if he have art, looks upon Synchysis as a picture representing a single scene, in the painting of which he must evince due concern for the choice and blending of his colors and follow the laws of artistic "composition." This is what Horace does in the *Odes*. Examples of Synchysis are *Maecenas atavis edite regibus* (I 1.1); *metaque fervidis evitata rotis* (I 1.4-5); *aspera nigris aequora ventis* (I 5.6-7); *tabula sacer votiva paries* (I 5.13-14); *quadrimum Sabina, O Thaliarche, merum diota* (I 9.7-8); *pias laetis animas reponis sedibus* (I 10.17-18); *virgaque levem coerces aurea turbam* (I 10.18-19); *vocalem temere insecutae Orphea silvae* (I 12.7-8); *metuende certa Phoebe sagitta* (I 12.23-24); *quos inrupta tenet copula* (I 13.18); *deviae olentis uxores mariti* (I 17.6-7); *venenatis gravida sagittis, Fusce, pharetra* (I 22.3-4); *pigris ubi nulla campis arbor* (I 22.17-18); *insigne maestis praesidium reis* (II 1.13); *sororum fila trium patiuntur atra* (II 3.15-16); *pura nocturno renidet luna mari* (II 5.19-20); *longaque fessum militia latus* (II 7.18); *Oblivioso levia Massico ciboria* (II 7.21-22); *gelidaque divos morte carentis* (II 8.11-12); *flumen gentibus additum victis* (II 9.21-22); *fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae* (II 14.14); (*Scandit*) *aeratas vitiosa navis cura* (II 16.21); *spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae* (II 16.38); *te meae si partem animae* (II 17.5) *ego pauperum sanguis parentum* (II 20.5-6); *fideli tuta silentio merces* (III 2.25-26); *Auster, dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae* (III 3.4-5); *elocuta consiliantibus Iunone divis* (III 3.17-18); *amatorem trecentae Pirithoum cohibent catenae* (III 4.79-80); *Signa ego Punicis adfixa delubris* (III 5.18-19); *pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio* (III 19.4); *Gratis nudis iuncta sororibus* (III 19.16-17); *hodiernae crastina summae tempora* (IV 7.17-18).

It is interesting to notice how frequently a proper name (usually in the vocative) stands in an environment that befits the character it represents, as when *Thaliarche* (master of festivities) cuts right in the middle the interlocked words *quadrimum Sabina . . . merum diota* (I 9.7-8). A similar fitness characterizes the following: *mare turbidum et infamis scopulos Acro-ceraunia* ("Thunder Cape"); *grato, Pyrrha, sub antro* (I 5.3); *Tu ne quaesieris . . . quem tibi finem di dederint, Leuconoe* (of clear insight), *nec Babylonios temptaris numeros* (I 11.1-3); *dulci, Tyndari, fistula* (I 17.10), in which Tyndari suggests a second Helen susceptible to a shepherd's pipe: *dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo, dulce loquentem* (I 22.23-24); *Praecipue lugubris cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam pater vocem cum cithara dedit* (I 24.2-4); *dic Latinum, barbite, carmen* (I 32.3-4); *praesidium . . . consulenti, Pollio, Curiae* (II 1. 13-14); *relictis, Musa, procax iocis* (II 1.37); *aureo, Alcaee, plectro* (II 13.26-27); *longum Calliope* (muse of epic poetry) *melos* (III 4.2); *spargit agrestis tibi* (Faunus) *silva frondis* (III 18.14); *Non vides quanto moveas periclo, Pyrrhe, Gaetulae catulos leaenae* (III 20.1-2); *horno fruge Lares avidaque porca* (III 23.3-4). The emotional repetition of Postumus fits in well with the mood and thought of its clause, *Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume, labuntur anni* (II 14.1-2).

Chiastic order in prose usually aims to set forth a decided antithesis; in the *Odes* it contributes chiefly to beauty of form and symmetry. This is apparent in the verse *Quo pinus ingens albaque populus* (II 3.9); also in *Dis patriis Italoque caelo* (II 7.3-4); and *Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis arboribusque comae* (IV 7.1-2). And formal beauty is attended by clarity of thought and expression. Occasionally Horace uses chiasmus to point a contrast, as in the expression *Multa petentibus desunt multa* (III 16.42). More frequently the arrangement serves to

express intensity of feeling, as in the examples: *Nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro* (I 7.27); *Signa ego Punicis adfixa delubris . . . vidi, vidi ego civium; nec dulcis amores sperne puer neque tu choreas* (I 9.15-16), in which *tu* ("at *your* age, while young") is an emphatic repetition of the logical force of *puer*.

A type of balance which Horace seems to favor is suggested by the example just quoted (I 9.15-16). The scheme is *a b c b a*. The following verses may be cited: *omne capax movet urna nomen* (III 1.16); *pulso Thyias uti concita tympano* (III 15.10); *puro te similem, Telephe, vespero* (III 19.26); *laevom marinae qui Veneris latus* (III 26.5). While it might be presumptuous to formulate the particular significance of this symmetrical arrangement, scarcely anyone would question its felicity in these instances. And after all, appreciation of art does not depend upon analysis. Even the artist may gain his effect without being conscious of the agencies that contributed to it.

Examples of artistic balance and symmetry appear with marked frequency throughout the *Odes*. Parallel expressions, such as *seu poscat agna sive malit haedo* (I 4.12), and *pauperum tabernas regumque turris* (I 4.13-14), repeated words, such as *Frustra . . . frustra* (II 14.13-15) and *Cedes . . . cedes* (II 3.17-19), are used again and again to contribute to the delight of sense and sound. Artistic form, in reality, is one of the factors that makes Horace *numerosus*. But it does not lie within the scope of this paper to touch on the music of his measures.

By marshalling the evidence here, I have aimed to show that much more *limae labor* was applied to word-order in the *Odes* than is commonly supposed, and that each of the varying types of arrangement has its own plausible significance.

VIII.

THE LITERARY INFLUENCE OF CICERO ON JUVENAL

The *Satires* of Juvenal, as is well known, contain many reminiscences of earlier writers. The mention of Cicero in this connection results, in the present instance, from an attempt to clarify the meaning of an obscure passage in the work of the great satirist.

Verses 358-359 of Juvenal's tenth satire,

> qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
> naturae,

have been diversely explained by commentators and critics. The *Scholia Vetera* regard the phrase *spatium vitae extremum* as equivalent to *mors:* pro donis mortem habeat. In support of this interpretation Mayor[1] and Wilson cite Pliny, VII, 190: praecipuum naturae bonum, mortem, while Prateus quotes Pliny, XXVIII, 1: ex omnibus bonis, quae homini tribuit natura, nullum esse melius tempestiva morte. Juvenal, then, according to this view, advises one to pray for

> "A soul that can securely death defy,
> And count it nature's privilege to die."[2]

[1]Although Mayor quotes Cic. *Sen.* 5, he apparently fails to note that this passage suggests "old age," rather than "death," for the meaning of *spatium vitae extremum.* Cicero clearly refers to "old age" when he writes (*l.c.*): a qua (*i.e.* natura) non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum.

[2]Dryden. Cf. Gifford:

> A soul prepared to meet the frowns of fate,
> And look undaunted on a future state;
> That reckons death a blessing. . . .

Spatium extremum, however, is not the same as *finis*.[3] *Extremum* alone is used repeatedly by Cicero as a synonym of *finis*.[4] *Spatium*, moreover, is a figure applied not only to the whole of life as in Cicero's *in hoc ipso vitae spatio* (*Fin.* I, 68) and Juvenal's *da spatium vitae* (10, 188), but also to parts or divisions of life as in Pliny's *post sexagesimum vitae spatium* (VII, 170) and Juvenal's *ultima spatia vitae* (10, 275).[5] Certainly the phrase *spatium vitae extremum* is most naturally rendered, "the last period of life," not "the end of life,"[6] a conclusion that finds no little support in the fact that Cicero regularly uses the similar phrase *extremum tempus aetatis* to refer to *senectus*, not to *mors*.

Furthermore, if *spatium vitae extremum* meant "death" here, the clause,

> qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
> naturae,

would add very little to the thought already expressed in the preceding line (357),

> fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem,

and Juvenal is apparently enumerating different qualities of this *fortem animum* in consecutive clauses.

A second group of editors (Duff, Friedlaender, Pearson

[3]Ruperti (Lipsiae, 1819), after equating *spatium extremum* with *finem*, contends: nam vitae spatium comparari solet stadio decurrendo in circo et finis vitae, mors, metae.

[4]Cicero, *Fin.* II, 35, expressly affirms this for *extremum* when it has the technical force of "the chief good": Cum enim hoc sit extremum (sentis enim, credo, me iam diu, quod τέλος Graeci dicunt, id dicere tum extremum, tum ultimum, tum summum; licebit etiam finem pro extremo aut ultimo dicere), . . . congruenter naturae convenienterque vivere. But see also *N. D.* I, 20: Quid est, cuius principium aliquod sit, nihil sit extremum? Likewise *Am.* 14: Cuius disputationis fuit extremum fere de immortalitate; *Sen.* 5: necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum; *ib.* 69: Mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum.

[5]Cf. Ovid's *spatium iuventae* (*Met.* XV, 225). Also Tacitus' *medio in spatio integrae aetatis* (*Agricola*, 44).

[6]Cf. Horace, *Ep.* I, 16, 79: Mors ultima linea rerum est. *Extremum spatium* was the last lap in the race before coming to the finish, the *ultima linea* (*i.e. alba linea*).

and Strong, Ramsay) construe *extremum* with *inter munera naturae*, and translate the clause, "reckoning length of days as the last, *i.e.* least desirable, of nature's gifts."[7] For the force of *spatium vitae* reference is made to line 188 of the same satire, where "long life" is the evident meaning of this expression. For the thought Seneca, *Ep.* 49, 10 is quoted: Doce non esse positum bonum vitae in spatio eius, sed in usu. Duff aptly cites Seneca, *Ep.* 4, 4: Nulli potest secura vita contingere, qui inter magna bona multos consules (*i.e.* annos) numerat. But, so far as the *spatium vitae* of line 188 is concerned, it should be kept in mind that the words *spatia ultima vitae* in line 275 give strong warrant for taking *extremum* (a common synonym for *ultimum*) with *spatium* in line 358. As for the parallels in Seneca, it is interesting to note that the first group of interpreters (*i.e.* those who take *spatium vitae extremum* to mean "death") also appeal to him for support. The fact is that, while both these interpretations give a meaning to the passage that is not without sense, neither fits the context adequately. Nor is it surprising, in view of this, that a number of commentators frankly state that there is little to choose between them.

A third explanation is offered by Weidner (Leipzig, 1873). Equating *spatium vitae extremum* with *ein möglichst weit gestecktes Lebensziel*, he "considers the especially kind

[7]J. D. Lewis, Vol. II, Notes (1882): "I am by no means sure, however, that the line does not mean 'who reckons mere length of life the smallest of nature's boons.' . . . There could be no objection to the expression *extremum inter munera* any more than to *primus inter pares*."

But no one cites a single case where *extremum* is used in this way. Nor will confirmation be found in Cicero, *Tusc.* V, 71: Invenitur, quid sit, quod natura spectet extremum in bonis, quid in malis ultimum, which would suggest just the opposite meaning for *extremum* (*i.e.* "most desirable" instead of "least desirable") if it were to be construed closely with *inter munera naturae*.

gift of nature to be length of days,"[8] and for a similar view quotes Horace, *Carm.* I, 9, 14: quem fors dierum cunque dabit lucro adpone.

No editor, however, so far as I have been able to determine, has expressly suggested that *spatium vitae extremum* refers to "old age."[9] And yet, the words can scarcely mean anything else. *Spatium*, as many editors indicate in their note on *spatia ultima vitae* in *Sat.* 10, 275, was a term applied to each of the seven circuits round the course in the Circus, and the phrase *spatium vitae extremum* must be interpreted metaphorically to denote "the last division, the last lap in the race of life," just as Cicero's expression *ultimum tempus aetatis* (*Tusc.* v, 56; *de Sen.* 9; 30; 55) unquestionably refers to "old age."

If then *spatium vitae extremum* is used for *senectus* (and it seems impossible to give any other force to the phrase), the clause,

> qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat naturae,

conveys a meaning that suits its context admirably. Old age, Juvenal tells us, is to be looked upon as a gift of nature and not as something which all men dread.[10] So in the preceding line he mentions a *mortem* which should not affrighten, and in the following clause the *quoscumque labores* which should not be found unbearable. In a word, these lines bid us to seek a mind that has the courage to

[8]Chase's edition (Philadelphia, 1876).

[9]Despite the fact that this phrase is often translated, "the last stage of life," it is usually taken in the notes to signify "death"! *E.g.* Madan (London, 1789) uses the words "last stage" and explains that the phrase "denotes the latter part of life, when we are near our end," but then in a long note goes on to show that *inter munera ponat naturae* is said of "death."

[10]Cic. *de Sen.* 4: Senectutem . . . , quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

face all those things, usually regarded as evils,[11] which the life of man normally brings with it, such as *mors*, *senectus*, *quicumque labores*, *etc.*, and to accept them with resignation, for, as we are told a few lines below (363 f.),

semita certe
tranquillae per virtutem[12] patet unica vitae.

So Cicero in *de Sen.* 4: qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri, quod naturae necessitas afferat.

Could Juvenal have had Cicero's *de Senectute* in mind when he wrote lines 358 f.? It seems very probable. Even apart from the meaning assigned to *spatium vitae extremum*, there is much in the entire conclusion of satire 10 (lines 346-366) to suggest that Juvenal was not unfamiliar with the literary works of Cicero. And it is only natural that this should have been the case, for, whether or not he was a pupil of Quintilian,[13] the scheme of education in Juvenal's time must have brought him in touch with the writings of Cicero, who figured prominently in the schools of rhetoric. In fact, Juvenal not only mentions (l. 113) the *eloquium aut famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis* but also makes it clear in lines 122-126:

O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
omnia dixisset. Ridenda poemata malo
quam te, conspicuae divina Philippica famae,
volveris a prima quae proxima,

[11] *Ib.* 14: Duo, quae maxima putantur, onera, paupertatem et senectutem.

[12] Cic. *Tusc.* II, 43: Appellata est enim ex viro virtus; viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo. . . .

[13] F. H. Colson, *Quintilian, Book I*, p. xv, n. 6: "As to Juvenal, I think it possible that *Sat.* 14, 32 ff. may contain a reminiscence of *Inst.* I, 2, 4 ff., but to have read the first two chapters of the book does not imply study in Quintilian's school."

Mayor, *Juvenal*, Vol. I (1886), p. xix: "Quintilian is mentioned four times (6, 75; 280; 7, 186; 189), always with great respect, as the recognized head of his profession."

that he was acquainted with what critics of his own time and he himself regarded as the best[14] and the worst[15] of Cicero's literary efforts. Certain quotations from the second *Philippic* had become the classical examples for the illustration of rhetorical principles, and the composition of replies to this same oration had come to be a traditional task in the schools.

The evidence of Mayor's notes, however, affords ample reason for believing that Juvenal had not confined his reading of Cicero to the Antonianae. In his notes on the concluding lines alone of Juvenal's tenth satire, he cites the *Tusculan Disputations* (I, II, IV), *de Senectute*, *de Finibus*, *Academica*, *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, and *de Natura Deorum*. And yet, one notes with surprise, very little attention has been paid to the possible literary influence Cicero had upon Juvenal. Teuffel (Schwabe-Warr, London, 1900) merely mentions Horace, Vergil, and Martial as being among the writers with whom Juvenal is chiefly acquainted. Under the title "Vorbilder Juvenals," Schanz (*Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur*, II, 2, p. 210) lists treatises purporting to show the literary relationship of Juvenal to Seneca, Lucilius, Vergil, Horace, Martial, Tacitus, and Pliny. Sometimes Ovid and Petronius are also named in this connection. But the part played by Cicero in the education of Juvenal has usually been overlooked.

In view of this fact, then, it will not be without interest to compare in detail the passage in Juvenal under discussion (*i.e. spatium vitae extremum* and its context) with the *de Senectute* of Cicero.

In the dedication to Atticus (*de Sen.* 1; 2), Cicero evinces

[14]See Sihler, *Cicero's Second Philippic*, p. ix.

[15]Quint. IX, 4, 41; XI, 1, 24.

his belief in the same philosophy of life that Juvenal bids us embrace when he says (10, 363 f.):

> semita certe
> tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae,

a *virtus* that includes the ability to bear submissively whatever the gods bring. Cicero, in complimentary tone, ascribes this trait to Atticus (*de Sen.* 2): hoc enim onere, quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me ipsum levari volo; etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter sicut omnia et ferre et laturum esse certo scio; and so Juvenal (10, 358 f.), but with epigrammatic conciseness, commends the *fortem animum*,

> qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
> naturae, qui ferre queat quoscumque labores.

Again, just a few lines farther on in the same section (2), Cicero discloses why his own *senectutem* is *mollem etiam et iucundam:* Numquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat, omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere, while Juvenal echoes this thought in his epigram on the *semita tranquillae vitae* (363 f.). *Prudentia* in the following line (365) of Juvenal's passage, although it corresponds in a sense with Cicero's *philosophia*,[16] finds a closer parallel in *humanitatem . . . et prudentiam* (*de Sen.* 1), and *sapienter* (*ib.* 1: sapienter . . . omnia ferre). *Omne tempus aetatis* recalls Cicero's expression for old age, *extremum tempus aetatis* (*de Sen.* 30, et passim), which in Juvenal becomes *spatium vitae extremum.*

One could well believe that Juvenal was familiar with *de Sen.* 4: Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est; qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri

[16] In *Tusc.* 1, 4, *prudentiam* is equivalent to *philosophiam.*

quod naturae necessitas afferat. The substance of it, at all events, is clearly reflected in 10, 363 f.:

> Monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare, semita certe
> tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.

The vanity of human wishes in regard to old age[17] is explicitly set forth in *de Sen.* 4: quam (*i.e.* senectutem) ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam; tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas, to which Juvenal gives a dramatic[18] touch in 10, 188 ff.:

> "Da spatium vitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos";
> hoc rectu vultu, solum hoc, et pallidus optas.
> sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
> plena malis!

Cicero, I may add in passing, had used the expression, "Da enim summum tempus" in *de Sen.* 69.

So far as the *mala senectutis* are concerned, it is interesting to note that there is hardly an item treated by Juvenal in his long discussion of old age (188-288) which could not have been suggested by Cicero's essay on the same theme. Apparently, at least, Juvenal is 'replying'[19] to the *de Senectute* in 188-288, very much as declaimers in the rhetorical schools were wont to reply to the second *Philippic*.[20] To show the nature and extent of the material that Juvenal seems to have adapted from the *de Senectute*, I shall merely cite the quotations from Cicero's treatise without stopping

[17]The theme of *Sat.* 10, 188-288.

[18]Juvenal's more characteristic manner is seen in 10, 5 f.:

> quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
> conatus non paeniteat votique peracti?

[19]The tenth satire is in reality a rhetorical treatise, dealing with a number of subjects of the sort that might have been discussed in the schools. For any discussion of old age, Cicero's work would scarcely have been overlooked.

[20]See Sen. *Suas.* 6 (Deliberat Cicero an Antonium deprecetur). Cf. 6, 5 with *Phil.* 2, 67; 6, 7 with *Phil.* 2, 77.

to indicate (what will scarcely be necessary) the obvious parallels in satire 10.[21]

Senectutem . . . quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere, *de Sen.* 4.

Non cani nec rugae[22] repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, *de Sen.* 62.

Tum equidem in senecta hoc deputo miserrimum.
Sentire ea aetate eumpse esse odiosum alteri,[23]
Caecilius in *de Sen.* 25.

At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles. . . . Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia, quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis . . . ; contemni se putant, despici, illudi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est, *de Sen.* 65.

Quae . . . deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab eis, a quibus essent coli soliti, *de Sen.* 7.

Senectus misera . . . quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus, *de Sen.* 15.

At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus.[24] Credo, sed ne desideratio quidem. . . . Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam affecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis: 'Di meliora!' inquit. . . . Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere,[25] *de Sen.* 47.

Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam, qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates

[21]The quotations from Cicero will be arranged as nearly as possible in the order in which the same subjects are taken up by Juvenal (10, 188-288).

[22]Note the verbal coincidence in *Sat.* 10, 193: talis aspice rugas.

[23]Cf. 10, 201-2:

usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso.

Line 201 recalls the expression, *ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere*, quoted above (Cic. *de Sen.* 4).

[24]Cf. *Sat.* 10, 203 f.:

Non eadem vini atque cibi torpente palato
gaudia.

[25]Cf. *Sat.* 10, 204-210.

propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tantum quantum sat est,[26] *ib.* 48.

Senectus misera . . . quod corpus faciat infirmius,[27] *ib.* 15.

Qui (*i.e.* Milo) cum iam senex esset . . . aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur illacrumansque dixisse: 'At hi quidem mortui iam sunt,'[28] *ib.* 27.

Sed tamen . . . non plane me enervavit, non afflixit senectus, *ib.* 32.

At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes, ut nullum offici aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint, *ib.* 35.

Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt, pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem, habenda ratio valetudinis. . . . Quos ait Caecilius comicos stultos senes, hos significat credulos obliviosos dissolutos, quae vitia sunt . . . inertis ignavae somniculosae senectutis. . . . Ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, *ib.* 36.

Cuius (senectutis) defatigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate, *ib.* 85.

At memoria minuitur. . . . Num igitur censetis eum (*i.e.* Themistocles), cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset, Lysimachum salutare solitum,[29] *ib.* 21.

[26]Cf. *Sat.* 10, 210-216:

> Nam quae cantante voluptas,
> sit licet eximius, citharoedo sive Seleuco
> et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna?
> Quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri
> qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
> concentus?

[27]Cf. *Sat.* 10, 217-33.

[28]Cf. *Sat.* 10, 11: admirandisque lacertis.

[29]Cf. *Sat.* 10, 232-236:

> Sed omni
> membrorum damno maior dementia, quae nec
> nomina servorum nec vultum agnoscit amici
> cum quo praeterita cenavit nocte, nec illos
> quos genuit, quos eduxit.

Edepol, senectus, si nil quicquam aliud viti
Apportes tecum, quom advenis, unum id sat est,
Quod diu vivendo multa, quae non volt, videt,[30]

Caecilius in *de Sen.* 25.

Of striking interest is section 9 of the *de Senectute:* Aptissima omnino sunt . . . arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis (quamquam id quidem maximum est), verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est. Not only does it reveal verbal coincidences (cf. *aptissima* and *iucundissima* with *pro iucundis aptissima; extremo tempore aetatis* with *spatium vitae extremum*), but, in addition, gives expression to a thought that is obviously reflected in Juvenal's concluding theme, the rewards of virtue (*i.e.* real happiness comes through virtue).

A number of parallels[31] to the much quoted *mens sana in corpore sano* have been cited by the editors, but it seems unlikely that Juvenal was indebted to any of them. In *de Sen.* 36, however, Cicero (influenced doubtless by Plato's ὑγιοῦς σώματος . . . ὑγιεῖ ψυχῇ, *Gorg.* 479 B.) anticipates, although in manner diffuse and *copiosus*, the sentiment which Juvenal was to crystallize for all time in his famous apothegm. Habenda, says Cicero, ratio

[30]Cf. *Sat.* 10, 240-245:

ducenda tamen sunt
funera natorum, rogus aspiciendus amatae
conjugis et fratris plenaeque sororibus urnae
haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant.

The theme is a favorite one in the *de Senectute.* Cf. 12, 68, and 84. Also *de Am.* 9.

[31]See Mayor (*l.c.*). The suggested parallel in Horace, *Carm.* 1, 31, 17-20, patently echoes Cicero's picture of a happy old age in *de Sen.* 72.

valetudinis, utendum exercitationibus modicis, tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis. Nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles; exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defatigatione ingravescunt, animi autem exercitando levantur.

For most readers perhaps,

> 10, 357: fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem

recalls the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*, but man's groundless fear of death, it should be kept in mind, is also presented in the *de Senectute*, as for example in 74 and 66.[32]

As noted above, *spatium vitae extremum* seems to be modelled after *extremum tempus aetatis*, Cicero's paraphrase for *old age* (ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis, *de Sen.* 9; extremo tempore aetatis, 30; extremum tempus aetatis, 55; omne tempus aetatis, 5), but *spatium*, which replaces *tempus*, is evidently not Juvenal's own contribution, for this figure taken from the race-course appears in Cic. *de Sen.* 14:

> Sicut fortis equos, spatio qui saepe supremo
> Vicit Olumpia, nunc senio confectus quiescit;

in *de Sen.* 60: Ita quantum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque huius extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media; in *de Sen.* 83: nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari; and in *de Sen.* 33: cursus est

[32]Cf. 72: Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus offici exsequi et tueri possit mortemque contemnere; ex quo fit, ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior.

certus aetatis.[33] Cicero, however, does not confine himself to this metaphor. Life is a *fabula* as well as a *cursus*, and old age is the *aetatis peractio tamquam fabulae* (*de Sen.* 85) or the *extremum actum* (aetatis),[34] an expression that could easily serve as a pattern for Juvenal's *spatium vitae extremum*.

If then it is clear that Juvenal is referring to *senectus* in 358 f.:

> qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat naturae,

this troublesome clause is completely clarified by Cicero, in *de Sen.* 39, where he makes *aetatis*[35] (= senectutis) modify *praeclarum munus:* Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, siquidem id aufert a nobis, quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! . . . Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam.

It would be futile, doubtless, to attempt to attribute the words, *qui ferre queat quoscumque labores* (359), to Cicero or any other author, but it is worth noting that Cicero commends this same *virtus* again and again in his essay, as when he says of Ennius (*de Sen.* 14): Ita ferebat duo quae

[33]Cf. Plaut. *Stich.* 81: decurso aetatis spatio. Also Cic. *de Fin.* I, 68: in hoc ipso vitae spatio amicitiae praesidium esse firmissimum; *id. de Am.* 40: Deflexit iam aliquantulum de spatio curriculoque consuetudo maiorum; *id. de Nat.* II, 49: quorum (siderum) . . . alterum (genus) . . . continuas conversiones duas isdem spatiis cursibusque conficiat; *ib.* 103: isdem spatiis eae stellae, quas vagas dicimus, circum terram feruntur.

[34]*de Sen.* 5: A qua (natura) non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum . . . quod ferendum est molliter sapienti. *Ib.* 64: Ei mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

[35]It matters little, for our present purpose, whether *aetatis* is appositional or possessive genitive. The passage clearly supports the contention that old age should be placed *inter munera naturae*.

maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.[36] In Juvenal's lines 360-3,

> potiores
> Herculis[37] aerumnas credat saevosque labores
> et venere et cenis et pluma Sardanapalli,

there is a reflection of the thought in Cicero, *de Sen.* 50: Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae, which follows an enumeration of *omnis eos* who have remained *his studiis flagr antis senes.*

Both Cicero and Juvenal were in accord with the Stoics to the extent of holding that *virtue* is the highest good. For Juvenal *virtus* alone led to the *vita tranquilla;* for Cicero *virtus* rendered *senectus* (and in fact *omne tempus aetatis*) *nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda.* But Cicero discusses in detail the *fructus* that *virtus* brings and interjects his contention at different points in the course of his argument, whereas Juvenal confines himself to his concluding lines (363-366):

> semita certe
> tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
> nullum numen habes si sit prudentia, nos te,
> nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

It will not be possible, or necessary, to cite here all the parallels in the *de Senectute.* I shall simply call attention to the fact that the examination of a number of these[38] re-

[36]Cf. *de Sen.* 3, 4, 6 *et passim.*

[37]Mayor on *Herculis aerumnas* quotes Max. Tyr. 21, 6: Heracles was wise. . . . But if Heracles had chosen to retire and live at ease and in leisure, and to pursue an inactive wisdom, he would have been instead of Heracles a sophist and no one would have dared to call him son of Zeus.

[38]Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est. Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus, 59 f. Tantum remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis, 69. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis, ut ita

veals an interesting recurrence of *virtus*, *prudentia*, *mores*, *tranquilla vita*, and *fortuna* (or their equivalents, as well as a resemblance in thought.

The interest in *spatium vitae extremum*, then, lies not particularly in the contribution it makes to the interpretation of the passage in Juvenal, but rather in the light it throws on Juvenal's literary interests; for not only is this phrase itself, meaning *old age*, clearly traceable to the diction and figurative phraseology of Cicero in the *de Senectute*, but in addition the clause in which it occurs (358 f.), in fact, the entire context in which this clause is found (346-366), and in a sense the declamatory tirade against old age (188-288), also can be attributed to source material in Cicero's essay on Old Age,[39]—material, how-

dicam, praestringit oculos nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium, 42. Cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem; nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere, 40. Cui (= et philosophiae) qui pareat, omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere, 2. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, 13. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem? 56. Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae, quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, 50. In hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poeta esse neglectum, 5. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum. . . . Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis, 70. Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt, importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est, 7. At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes . . . quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus, 65. Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare, quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. . . . Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos, 62.

[39]The *de Senectute*, as indicated above, was not the only work of Cicero which furnished Juvenal with source material. Mayor, for example, cites *Tusc.* 1, 85 as the source of *Sat.* 10, 258-272, and *Tusc.* 1, 86 as the source of 283-288.

ever, which was never appropriated outright, but which was modified and adapted to his ends with so decided an originality of treatment that it became in very fact Juvenal's own. In one case it is expanded for dramatic and rhetorical effect (188-288); in another it is condensed to form *sententiae* and epigrams that defy improvement. But this "power over trenchant expression" is seldom used merely for the sake of effect. Usually, as in the prayer of the tenth satire, it is one of the means whereby the nobility of his theme is made to stand out in clearer, brighter light.

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